/521 cont./

225 whale, be it large or small, will provide for many families, often entirely free.

3. Bird Hunting

223 825 The home of the Yamana swarms with land birds and sea birds. A gaily colored, feathered throng of many shapes animates the islands and rocks, inhabits the inlets and lagoons, and crosses the network of channels and the broad open spaces in flocks, in stormy and sunny weather. Their habits and characteristics are all well known to the Indian, but he pays them special heed only insofar as they have something to offer him or to tell him. Some of them furnish him with tasty meat and others with fresh eggs in spring; some yield him coveted feathers for body decoration, others their bones for necklaces; certain ones announce a change of weather or of seasons, and a few are heralds of interesting events in the distance, even in the future. All of them live in his belief [773] as the descendants of that stratum of population which inhabited this region long before the actual human beings of today.

As is to be expected, however, those species mean most to him which serve him as food. Not just any animal that comes within the Indian's range tempts his palate and his appetite. He has good judgment in distinguishing among them, and he consciously chooses what is good for him. He avails himself of only a few species for his own use from the plentiful feathered world of his homeland. What does not serve him and does not suit his wishes, he lightheartedly passes by. Everywhere he is selective and wisely calculating, not least in evaluating the types of birds available to him.

223 From the start he pays no attention to small animals; the meat they could give him would not be worth his efforts. Herons and owls mean nothing to him either, for they are all skin and bones. Sea birds and the easily available gull chasers, especially the diurnal predatory birds, such as condor and falcon, vulture and hawk, repulse him because they feed on carrion. There are other birds, however, that he would not want to be without in his selection of food; they are a welcome change in the dull taste of his monotonous meat diet. Primarily he has his eye on penguins and

/547 cont./

227 of bits of meat, the size of a cherry, from a small mussel, or a tiny bit of seal meat, or whatever else the woman happens to have. As soon as the long thread of alga is dipped into the water it is quickly impregnated with moisture. In spite of its extreme flexibility, it is strong enough. As a substitute they also choose a fishline, apúr tuarána, made out of several meters of braided, tough sinews, tafím (tábim) (Fig. 64). The sinews, úswúmi, of the guanaco are well adapted to this because they are long, fine, and durable; if they are not available, sinews of whale, seal, or otter are used. Even heavy fish cannot tear this line. Sometimes the woman flattens the sides of the sinker (čéči, also tóšišóši according to BD:399, "a sink [round stone or lead] for fish lines" /cited in English/, rounds the edge, and cuts a shallow notch into it for the thread (281). She goes to the trouble of

[283 237]

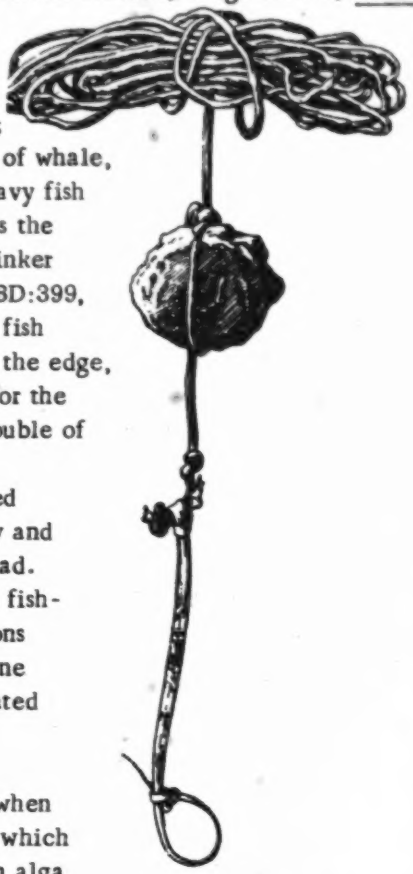

Fig. 63. Fishline Made from an Alga Stem. Three-quarters natural size.

281. Hyades (h):19 illustrated a stone fashioned in this way and comparable to a sounding lead. Next to it he shows a second fishline "of braided whale tendons with a polished, grooved stone serving as a weight" /translated from French/.

specially shaping the stone only when the fishline is of braided sinews, which is stronger than a line made of an alga stem. In the central part of Beagle Channel the people even use a spherical black stone about four centimeters in diameter, which is provided with a shallow groove for the fishline. According to the old myth about Sínulu-watauinéiwa, this téši, téši, was said to have been introduced by a woman in ancient times.

[773]

/715 cont./

736 protected in her hands as in those of its mother (141).
854

141. Lovisato (b):150 simply repeats what Bridges (a):183 observed long before: "If the mother dies, the little one soon finds a foster-mother, by whom considerable affection is shown" /cited in English/.

142 Occasionally it has been maintained that the children are conspicuously small at birth, and Bridges (i):21 writes: "The children are decidedly small at birth and to this fact may be chiefly attributed the mother's immunity from danger" /cited in English/. Bove (e):158 repeats this. Nothing justifies this assumption, and it is a fact that Bridges was by no means in a position to prove it. The color of the skin of the newborn child is considerably lighter than that of adults and later becomes somewhat darker. Fitz-Roy (a):176 says about the Yamana and Halakwulup in general: "Little children are nearly of the same hue as their parents' skin is when cleaned; but infants are, for a few days, rather lighter coloured" [143] /cited in English/. The slight differences in the skin color of newborn children are hereditary.

•773 There is a story dealing with the external appearance of the little ones, which old Čenesin, father of Chris, sometimes told young women; "A long time ago a woman became pregnant. She was delivered extraordinarily quickly, and the child left the mother's womb without the slightest hindrance. Immediately it stretched its limbs, stood up by itself, and walked around a bit, for it was strong and sturdy enough to do this. Immediately after that it hastened back into its mother's womb. Thus the belly of that woman grew big. But soon the child again left its mother's womb, stood up, and walked about freely for a little while; then it hastened back in again. Motionlessly the mother lay there and grew big; she did not know what was happening to her. Since the child came out again and once more returned, she grew ever /716/ weaker. Meanwhile the child had grown and become larger, so she, too, swelled constantly. Finally she died as she once more lay on her sleeping place near the fire. At once she dissolved into nothingness, as though she had never consisted of flesh and bones. --

/716 cont./

•773 I myself saw this mother (142), so I give you this advice: if at

142. This expression is, of course, not to be taken literally; it means, in the Yamana way of speaking, that this man had a very lively image of the chief character in the story.

birth a child comes out of the mother's womb very quickly and immediately begins to walk, you must kill it without delay. Otherwise it will hurry back into its mother's belly which will swell to such a size that the mother will die."

854 515 Frequent ablutions are considered absolutely necessary for the infant; sometimes a dip in sea water is substituted for them. Soon after birth they are performed with brown swamp water which the mother usually has fetched by some other person. She places the baby upright in front of her, fills her mouth again and again with this water, warming it a little, and gradually sprays the baby's entire body. She gently dries off her little darling with a soft, turfy mass or with a ball of moss, both of which are taken out of a bog and squeezed to remove the large amounts of water they contain. The purpose of this treatment with the bundle of moss is not to dry the skin, but to stimulate it with rubbing. After the first two weeks the use of bog water is no longer necessary; sea water will suffice from now on.

We must appreciate the fact that our Indian women, who apparently do not have an eye for the physical cleanliness of their larger children, take so much conscientious care of their infants that they repeat the ablutions at least once a day. They always warm the water in the mouth and squirt it on the body of the little ones. With the palm of the hand they gently rub the separate parts, and this is justifiably regarded as a beneficial massage. Several times in succession the woman will hold her open hand over the fire to warm it, and she continues the rub until her hand becomes cool. If she undertakes the bath on the shore where she does not want to start a fire for those few minutes, she breathes into her loosely clenched fist, warming the inside of her hand somewhat (143). Even

143. Hyades (f):571 observed the same procedure.

/788 cont./
for her (191).

191. In Hahn (a):804 we read: "The first menstruation takes place between 14 and 15 years of age. The first appearance of the menses is celebrated by the parents and their friends. Nevertheless she is considered impure, and for four days the young girl is obliged to abstain from certain foods" /translated from French/.

In order to emphasize effectively the rule to eat little or nothing, the women tell the following story: "Once a túrrikipa sat alone in a canoe. She knew about the restriction yet she secretly ate a few berries. Soon a strong lakúma /water spirit/ came along, seized this túrrikipa, lifted her out of the canoe, and devoured her. He left only her intestines, which other people afterwards found on the beach. Now they knew what had happened. That is how this disobedient girl was punished." Every girl is given this warning on the occasion of her first menstruation.

The women regard the urgent admonitions they give the túrrikipa as more significant than the above-mentioned restrictions. In connection with this I learned from Nelly and Mary that the túrrikipa is above all given instruction in the duties of a married woman and mother, as well as in her conduct /756/ from now until marriage. They recommend to her as the foremost virtues willingness to help and to please others, industry, and unselfishness. She is gravely warned against secretly yielding to an importunate chap because the result would be an illegitimate child (p. 411). By this time the girl is sufficiently enlightened about sexual life and knows where children come from. Many observations from earliest childhood have helped her obtain this information (p. 392). Every túrrikipa has ample opportunity immediately to practice the virtues listed here; we have just spoken of this above.

Besides these things I also learned the following definite admonitions from Nelly, which I repeat here verbatim and without change.

/758 cont./

On that particular day old Alfredo had been given a nip of wine by a European and was in excellent spirits. I accompanied him to a small garden near Punta Remolino, the property of the Lawrence family, where he was supposed to hoe the turnip beds. In an unmistakably personal tone he asked me: "Do you know why Lola is acting so gravely and does not look about her at all?" I told him that I had not noticed it. Satisfied to hear this, he assured me: "It is all because she is now ~~[illegible]~~!" I immediately asked him to explain this further to me. "I'll tell you everything tonight!" he assured me.

When night had long since fallen, there were many people crouching around the fire in Alfredo's hut. He remembered his promise and gave me a sign that he now wanted to fulfill it. Gruffly he sent the children away and was loudly emphatic that it was time they went to bed. With a somewhat milder remark he indicated to the women that he would like them to leave him alone with the men. When the men were by themselves, he told the familiar story of how the first menstruation was introduced by the elder Yoálox.

The entire myth will be given below. Here it will suffice to indicate that since the introduction of this bleeding Yoálox has been regarded as the husband of every woman and as causing the flow of blood through a sexual act. Because he always unites anew with each woman, it is necessary for her to get up soon after bleeding begins to free herself each time from Yoálox. /759/ How consistently the Yamana regard the relationship of every woman to Yoálax as a conjugal one may be seen from the fact that they say his elder sister, Yoálax tarnuyipa, is the sister-in-law of all women.

The girl does not learn about this myth in connection with her menarche. It is saved until the youth initiation, so that the child will not prematurely become familiar with delicate matters. It is not until the Kináeye that the candidates are told everything that tradition recounts about Yoálox. As a rule the overseer of the initiation does this, but the female candidate almost always learns the story of the very first menstruation from the woman who sponsors her. Nelly added the following to these details: "When I was first permitted to attend the Kináeye, we candidates had to

/759 cont./

get up one by one at midnight. The old instructor led us out of the Great Hut, pointed to certain stars, and mentioned their names. He also showed us the Yoálox family, saying: 'The elder Yoálox is the husband of every girl who has become ripe; he causes the bleeding after every moon[-cycle]!' He also impressed upon us: 'Keep all this to yourselves, for this is a secret for girls and they should not speak about it with boys!'"

The women actually do avoid speaking about their monthly bleeding, wélix. It finally becomes so taken for granted that they probably seldom think of Yoálox in connection with it. I did not find out whether they specify a particular reason for the cessation of the menses in the change of life; they are indifferent toward it.

4. Children's Play

The happy disposition of our Fuegians is shown in entertaining games. Whenever there are many people gathered together and the weather is favorable, they greatly enjoy playing together for hours. Children soon show a great love of play, and when several get together, they, too, immediately begin to entertain themselves in their modest way.

Both boys and girls amuse themselves, each in their own way, and the demands on the sexes are already in force here. In play no less than in other things the separation of the sexes is supposed to be observed; this is gladly overlooked, however, when so-called social games are played, in which adults, too, often take part. There are no special playthings for older children; instead, for their childish entertainment they very often imitate grownups at work. Although the social games mentioned above are not confined to children alone, they are the ones who most frequently play them; hence we shall describe them here.

Despite the unrestricted merriment and wholesome liveliness that all children show in their play, this flock of little ones is relatively silent and quiet. True, they are not /760/ mute, but there is no wild noise and ceaseless yelling, and no one would dare shout at the top of his lungs or cry just to show off. This behavior fits very well with the quiet and hushed manner of babies (p. 520) and adults.

/784 cont./

524 857 On most days, if the girl is not needed by her mother, she is left to her own resources. She spends these hours among her playthings. Chiefly she takes up her doll, which is extraordinarily simple and hardly deserves the name, quite in contrast to the not unattractive article that makes the Kelk'nam girls happy (Vol. I, 290). A cylindrical-shaped stone the size of one's fist or a short rounded piece of wood without any finish or ornament suffices for this yékaxégla. The girl treasures, cherishes, carries, and treats her little doll exactly the way a European girl does, sometimes she even talks to it.

The child is not supposed to play with this yékaxégla too long, and the adults soon warn her out of superstitious fear. For example, the father will say /765/ to his daughter: "If you fondle and care for this stone much longer it might turn into a Sinulowotaxindjwa!" The latter is a person of stone in a myth told by our Yamana. Intimidated and frightened, the girl will throw the stone away and choose another as her yékaxégla, or the stuffed skin of a small bird or of a young otter. They remove the skin of these animals in one piece by turning it inside out after making a short incision in the belly. Then they stuff it tightly with dried grass or rush stalks and sew it up. With touching tenderness the girl ceaselessly runs her hand up and down it, caressing the soft otter pelt.

The child also obtains a doll in another way. She takes the carcass of an adult bird, usually a wild goose or a cormorant, cuts the skin all the way round at about the center of the bird, strips it off, dries it, fills it with dry grass, and sews up the large openings. In this way the head, neck, and breast take on their natural shapes.

857 231 In imitation of some of the women, many girls constantly go after young animals, usually a newly hatched bird. They care for it and feed it with the most loving concern, play with it, and sometimes caress it rather wildly so that the tight grip or constant tugging causes the animal pain. They take it along with them on their almost daily trips and care for it until it is ready to fly. It is not customary to clip its wings in order to keep it from flying away. If only for the sake of variety, they let the animal fly as soon as it can. For this purpose they most often choose a wild goose, a wild duck, the laughing gull, kiwégo (Larus dominicanus),

/963 cont./
about and make a great fuss about it; sometime he will realize
his mistake.

"Do not cease really loving your husband and willingly doing
all kinds of work for him: then he will like you, too, and also
take good care of you.

"If the family [from which you come] is large and your
brothers /970/ and uncles are very much concerned by people be-
cause they are capable, do not preen yourself about it and do
not unduly boast about it, for others would misconstrue this.

"If you want to live peaceably and happily with your husband,
do not constantly quarrel with him. Be quiet if he has an opinion
that differs from yours; later he will probably realize his mistake.

"Watch out for Wenenindjwa /the supreme being/, never for-
get about him. If you are dull and slow and lastly neglect your
work, if you do not get up betimes in the morning, he will look
at you; then it will soon be over with you (290). And do not

290. A favorite saying which we shall mention below expresses the same thing: "The Supreme Being will punishingly cast his eye on you and destine you to a premature death." In a later section such sayings will be more specifically explained.

forget what the ᐊᐢᑭᐩᐊᐧᐃᐣ often said in the morning here in the ᑭᓯᓂᓱᐧᐊᐣ but when they got up early and stepped out: "ᑭᐢᑭᐩᐊᐧᐃᐣ ᐁᐢᑭᐩᐊᐧᐃᐣ (ᐊᐢᑭᐩᐊᐧᐃᐣ) ᑲᐢᑲᐩ, ᐋᐢᑲᐩ (291)!" That is when ᐊᐢᑭᐩᐊᐧᐃᐣ (292) did also.

291. This means: "Come on, we are new candidates, come on!"

292. Tordo magellanicus, the Magellanic thrush. The reference to the thrush has the following meaning. Once upon a time this bird was also a candidate in the youth initiation where it learned to get up early every morning. It has practiced this good habit so faithfully that on all subsequent occasions up to the

1.Gamble--"27" 0-5 (1810-1904) 1927 OSU Pamphlet file

/970 cont./

present it has been a good example for the candidates. Since then, when the drum was a sleepy-head or a sluggard, it calls him with its "wan, wan," as though it wanted to say: "Soon you will die!" Thus every candidate must beat the drum in getting up and, when he sees it in the morning, must quickly call to it, "wan, wan," in order to put the sins of the words "Soon you will die!" on it. At the same time the candidate is supposed to break a twig or a stick lightly and meekly to convince the drum that he is active and industrious.

"Do you see that bird there, all by itself, separated from all the others? That is what will happen to you if you do not observe all these teachings. You will gradually detach yourself from the others and will finally stand alone; then you will no longer be happy, you will become weak and ill and die prematurely. Before the sun rises blithely rise from your bed.

"The teacher said so repeatedly. 'If you do not pay attention to these teachings and neglect them, you will have few children later on and even those will soon die. Never forget my advice and my teachings!'"

Emily Lawrence carefully noted the following sayings from her days as a novice and willingly repeated them.

"You will probably soon get married and build your own hut. If occasionally someone comes to you [as a visit] and helps himself to the mussels or crabs or fish that happen to be roasting at your fire, do not be angry. Rather, be glad, for it is an honor for you that a stranger comes to your hut and eats with you.

"When you are married carefully avoid arguing and quarreling with your husband.

/971/ "Be faithful to him. If he should forget himself and associate with another woman, bear [your sorrow] patiently. But do not suppose that you, also, may now secretly go to another man, for you are a woman. Your husband will realize that you are being faithful to him. He will be pleased with you and will soon break off with that other woman.

/871 cont./

accompanied by his spouse. Mine said to me: "We are now in the woods. You must not think that these trunks here are wood! No, these are other people who in the great upheaval long ago rotted into trunks; since then they have been standing here (298).

298. He is alluding to the myth of the great upheaval, which tells of the founding of the men's ceremony. Compare Gumbs (My) 327 and the rest of this myth below in the section, "The Kina Celebration."

They can all see how you behave. Now tell them: "I am an *ebedjo*." This I did. I stood before one tree and another and said to it: "I am an *ebedjo*!" The other boys did the same thing. Thereupon my spouse said to me: "When the overseer sends you into the woods to fetch wood, work diligently. If you should lastly sit down or gather berries and mushrooms in order to eat them, be assured that these people here [the trunks] are watching you closely! If you do not properly arrange the little trunks that you have gathered, the pile (299) will collapse. If

299. He is referring to the Tanawa practice of leaning the sticks and small trunks that have been gathered in the woods against a large tree. The obvious purpose is to keep the wood off the soaked ground and to dry it somewhat by exposing it to currents of air (p. 47).

these pieces fall over, you will never have any luck in life, for these people here see everything (300)!"

300. This means: "They will revenge themselves for the disrespect and lack of consideration with which you have treated them in the guise of tree trunks!" This reference, too, thus serves as a warning to the candidates never to behave as though they were unobserved, but to observe carefully all the precepts.

/898 cont./

In order to give strong emphasis to the admonitions, Yetā́ita is mentioned again and again.

"Of course, besides that, there is also Hidā́buan; he is the strong one who actually punishes. Everyone must be particularly careful of him. But all that is taken for granted and that is why Hidā́buan is less frequently mentioned in the čiéxaus (329).

> 329. "Hidabuan," like "Watauineiwa," is a name for the same Supreme Being.

Here we want to make our teachings and admonitions to the candidates effective; that is why we threaten them with Yetā́ita. Our men give all the calls that the uswā́ala attribute to him. The young chap takes this into consideration after he enters the Great Hut for the third time, but previous to that, out of fear of Yetā́ita, he has been set upon the right course [of fulfilling his duty]. Later he is told that only men produce these calls. Then he says to himself: /899/ 'Hitherto I thought Yetā́ita called out from the earth!' Nevertheless, he remains on the good path, to which he has by now become accustomed."

[885] After the candidates have been dismissed from the second youth initiation they are legally adults. In general, except on special occasions, they do not receive further instructions or exhortations. Hence Yetā́ita is not mentioned outside the čiéxaus hut.

In the mythology of the Yamana the tales concerning the actual bearers of culture, named Yo-á́lox, and their family have a special place (330). In olden times this name was scarcely ever

> 330. Here we should say in anticipation that among these Fuegians he embodies what the hero "Kwanyip" does for the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 581). Both have created important institutions and prescribed the norm of life, so to speak.

mentioned to immature youths before their initiation (p. 178 /untranslated/); the girls heard it for the first time on the occasion of

/899 cont./

their menarche (p. 575). In the čiéxaus, one or another deed of the Yoálox siblings was told in more detail as a sort of first introduction. Only the young men who were permitted entrance to the kína learned the complete cycle of tales. When, at my repeated request, old Alfredo revealed the Yoálox cycle of legends to me as he sat in a circle of men, he emphasized: "Actually we tell these things only at the kína celebration." It is also regarded as a rare exception if men among themselves speak at length about this hero. Women avoid it in any case. In front of uswáala adults now and then will say: "The manner in which we Yamana should conduct ourselves [= the entire body of moral law] has been arranged by Yoálox!" Thus he is regarded more or less as the bearer of the decrees of Watauinéiwa to the Yamana.

On the other hand, the legends of more general content are treated differently. They are in large part repeated in the čiéxaus hut. It does not matter whether there is an obligation to tell them to the candidates; most of them actually are told, some even repeatedly. The decisive factor in this connection is the presence of persons who are able to tell a story well. They are urged by the rest of the participants to offer this or that story. If someone present knows the same story with some variations, he feels impelled to speak up also. If the čiéxaus celebration lasts a long time, many an older person will call for a repetition of the stories that were told at the beginning or that were particularly well liked. No matter what the procedure, the uswáala actually hear almost all the myths current in their tribe. They may have become familiar with some of them earlier through conversation in the dwellings.

At least one or two stories are told by the leader or overseer personally at each initiation, and he does it in a strong, clear voice so that everyone can understand him. Now and then he must offer this kind of variety to those present, /900/ either personally or through a suitable storyteller. They listen in suspense. Meanwhile the customary singing of several persons ceases; only very softly one person, perhaps supported by another, will audibly hum the melody apart from the storyteller. The adult participants in particular do not want to miss the enjoyment of hearing their old legends well told some evening in the čiéxaus hut. At the

/900 cont./
same time the uswala are introduced to this treasure. It cannot be denied that significant rules of conduct or customs, as well as good or evil deeds, are elucidated on the basis of many an example from a legend. Therefore the stories to some extent also serve the chief aim of the čiexaus, to train the young people.

γ. Work Drills

A surprisingly rich store of teachings and precepts, principles and rules of conduct, and excerpts from individual experience and from old legends are offered the candidates at the initiation. We see, therefore, how the long period during which they are together is filled. The experienced educators in Tierra del Fuego are not content with theoretical instruction alone, however. They insist on practice and drill under their supervision. They are constantly affording the uswala an opportunity to transform into action the teachings and principles put before them, inasmuch as the best rules are of no avail if they are not practiced. When I openly thanked Alfredo for what I had learned in my first initiation, he said to me in a friendly tone: "Certainly, everything that goes on in the čiexaus hut is very good. But we Yamana are happiest if the uswala conduct themselves throughout their lives as we have taught them in the čiexaus!"

The young people entering there as candidates are at the age of maturity, that is to say, shortly before their marriage. Soon they will have the care of a family and the duties connected with those occupations which, according to the prevailing division of labor, fall to each sex. The community of fellow-tribesmen wishes to guarantee that the family soon to be established will really be prepared for life, that each of the two young spouses is equal to the problems of family life. The old people express it specifically: "In the čiexaus we ascertain the degree of manual skill possessed by each uswala. Whatever he lacks in the way of capability, he must acquire here!" For example, in some families the boys are given too little opportunity for independent hunting because the father personally does the main work. This deficiency is corrected in the initiation. Without discrimination,

/955 cont./

X881 persons who live according to these principles all their lives and who are an honor to their people, in other words, a shining example for youth. Proper tribal members have little or no regard for adults who have not experienced the initiation because, through unusual circumstances, there was no room for them in previous times. /956/ As a single example we need mention only the two brothers Sarmiento and Balfour, sons of old Peine, each of whom had different Europeans as fathers. They constantly lived on farms and year after year they avoided participation in the youth initiation. The older men are very mistrustful of these two and obviously exclude them from their intimate circle.

Moreover, this long description clearly and unequivocally shows the moral value of the čiéxaus institution. One need only consider the individual instructions, and he will be unable to conceal his astonishment at their superior content. This opinion will be heightened by considering the original derivation of the youth initiation, for the Supreme Being himself is regarded as its founder. The uŝwáala are frankly told: "All that goes on here [the daily program with its details] is not our invention; Hidáuan himself wants everything to be done in this way!" They are admonished: "What we tell you here [in the way of precepts and instructions] originates with 'the-One-up-there'! He wants everyone [Yamana] to adapt himself faithfully to it. Fulfilling all this is your [personal] affair, we cannot force you. But Watauinéiwa always sees you, he will also see it if you secretly evade something that we recommend to you here in the čiéxaus. He himself will punish you for your faulty behavior by an untimely death, or he will let one of your children die. Therefore, observe what we tell you here, for that is the way Watauinéiwa wants it!" During the initiation the candidates are repeatedly told that the teachings and precepts presented come from the Supreme Being who watches over their exact fulfillment and punishes their neglect. If one considers the important place of the čiéxaus in all the educational work of the Yamana, he sees surprisingly clearly how deeply their educational principles are anchored in religion.

X881 ●113 Although the ideas inherent in the youth initiation are derived from religious conceptions, there is also a particular historical derivation. It does not disturb the Fuegian temperament

/956 cont./
that the two trends of thought are incompatible. During the course of the celebration the story of "hamanâulum wâtuwa" is told to the uswâala, and it was on this occasion that I, too, learned it.

In the eastern corner of the Bay of Ushuaia there were, once upon a time, several families camping. They heard that in the west there was a stranded whale. Three men got into a canoe. Two of them were yékamuš, the other was not. The former two were Hēspul (366) and Yo'okalîa (367). The three men rowed off

366. Taenioptera pyrope, a small sparrow of the Tyrannidae family. As a mythological personality it also plays an important role in other stories.

367. Milvago chimango, the hawk.

in a westerly direction. Their canoe was extraordinarily swift. Quickly it glided past Puerto Olla (368). Their canoe kept going

368. This small harbor is exactly opposite Punta Divide on the north shore, hence on the boundary line between the central and western Yamana groups.

farther and farther /957/ and came to Hapananúsi (369). The

369. The reference is to the channels west of the Darwin Sound as far as the ultimate projection of Brecknock Peninsula. The central and eastern Yamana speak of the inhabitants of this outlying district roughly as Halakwulup.

Halakwulup, a dangerous, bad people, live here. The three Yamana saw the huts of this people here, left their canoe, and climbed ashore. The two yékamuš were invited into the same hut, the third man was called to another hut (370). When the two

370. It was the deliberate intention of these

X881 773

/957 cont./

wicked people to separate the three visitors from one another, so that it would be easier to overcome them individually.

yékamuš entered the hut the many children inside shouted with joy. They cried loudly: "yárum káiya, but quickly now!" This means [in their language]: "We want to devour these two immediately!" The adults, however, replied: "hamašúnna, not until tomorrow!"

The two yékamuš soon understood [the meaning of these words]. One of them also saw a woman inconspicuously cut off a piece of her breast and put it on the glowing charcoal as a roast, for she wanted to invite the two of them to a meal. Héšpul was shocked. He snatched the piece of meat from the fire and threw it out of the hut in a wide arc. Thereupon he said furiously: "I did not come here to eat human flesh!" He reached for his yékuš /arrowhead/ and cut off a piece of whale meat which he laid on the glowing coals. A thick smoke formed, which lulled the people in the hut to sleep, for he was a yékamuš (371). All

371. With his supernatural ability as a medicine man he intentionally rendered his opponents harmless through this method.

the people, even the vicious dogs, were overcome by deep sleep.

Then Héšpul said to his companion, who sat next to him: "Let's quickly see which fatty parts are best. We'll put them aside for ourselves!" They looked around, cut out the best fatty parts and the nicest pieces of meat, and dragged them to their canoe. Soon the canoe was filled to the brim and hastily they went off. They rowed busily and worked all night until they came to Asúsiwaia early in the morning.

When they slipped past this little harbor, they heard the Halakwulup throwing large stones after them with their slings, for the Halakwulup had decamped and rowed after them. Every stone that fell made a loud bang. Without hesitating, the three Yamana threw many pieces of fat into the water, in order to lighten the canoe so that they could get away quickly. They rowed with the greatest effort and soon reached Úuwáia. Here they noticed that

/957 cont./
the Halakwulup had, after all, been unable to overtake them and had turned back. After that Hëspul remained in Usuwáia.

Those Halakwulup got together. They decided: "The three men of the Yamana came here and wanted to murder us; they took away our meat and escaped into their territory. Now we want to /958/ build a very large hut and equip ourselves. Afterwards we shall build a long canoe, and we alone, without the women, shall row to the Yamana, seize them, and kill them. That is how the čiéxaus began there. From the Halakwulup it later came to the Yamana (372).

372. There in the west, Halakwulup and Yamana were in contact with each other. Thus the latter learned the youth initiation from the former, and gradually it was also adopted by the central and eastern Yamana. -- A variation of this myth is given below.

In order to imitate what the Halakwulup had planned, the Yamana capture live birds and bring them into the Great Hut where they remain (373). These birds remind them of the Yamana

373. This custom is not followed very strictly. It is more a kind of amusement for one of the participants to catch a bird and in doing so to meet the requirements of this custom.

whom the Halakwulup had intended to catch. -- So goes the story.

I was also told that some men and women of earlier generations gave certain directions and commands during the čiéxaus celebration in the Halakwulup language. The Yamana like to cite this as proof of the origin of the secret celebration in the west.

[171] We cannot judge here the historical value of this myth, and it will suffice to point out that among the Halakwulup, exactly as among our Yamana, the youth initiation is an independent institution, separate from the men's ceremony (374).

374. These two affairs are known to be

/1040 cont./

3. My Own Conclusions

111 114 It was anything but encouraging at the start of my journeys to be faced with the strange fact that all the visitors to Tierra del Fuego, as well as all the missionaries without exception, denied with emphatic, unequivocal words that our Indians had any kind of religious view and practice. Everyone regarded the Yamana as irreligious. On my first and second visit, therefore, I consciously avoided touching upon this subject in my conversation with the members of the Lawrence family and in my contact with the Indians. Besides, there were other, more immediate problems which first had to be solved.

124 113 116 The traveling investigator must be favored by fortune; otherwise his efforts are in vain. I obtained the first indications of the religious ideas of the Yamana quite incidentally and without my doing anything. One evening on my second journey I was again sitting with a group of several men who were explaining to me the ancient traditions of their tribe. It was then that I learned for the first time about their myth of a great flood which, in hoary antiquity, had inundated their present homeland. All of us who had listened with obvious seriousness to the old storyteller were silent for some time and thought about the catastrophe of that flood. Afterward one or two men made some short explanatory remarks. I now bravely ventured to ask:"Whoever sent that big flood?" Everyone present instantly became quiet and a painful silence followed. Embarrassed, they lowered their eyes and avoided my gaze so that they would not be forced to answer me. I repeated my question and in a friendly way asked for the desired explanation. Old Alfredo who had done the talking that evening replied /1041/ emphatically: "Lḗxuwakípa sent that tremendous flood." When he did not add anything more, I asked: "Is Lḗxuwakípa really so mighty?" Alfredo replied: "As a matter of fact it was strong Wataụinḗịwa who sent the general flood. Lḗxuwakípa prevailed upon him to do it; it was her intention to demolish the whole world. With Wataụinḗịwa she succeeded in having the great flood come!" Naturally I asked again: "Who is this Wataụinḗịwa?" This very obviously increased the general embarrassment and everyone present maintained strict silence. I felt as though I had been guilty of an impropriety or had ventured on dangerous ground.

/1041 cont./

124 After a good long time and probably also in order to break the general silence, Chris boldly said: "Watauinẽ́iwa is [similar to] what God is to Christians [Europeans]." His brief words were spoken in a tone which made it clear to me that further questions would not be in order. The attitude of all the men was clearly aloof. Some of them had an expression suggesting that in this discussion some information had heedlessly slipped out which should have remained secret. After that the men timidly exchanged a few words and the gathering soon broke up.

On the next evening I dared not ask about Watauinẽ́iwa again; I suspected that the people would misunderstand. It was partly caution and partly disappointment that made me think the missionaries had told these Indians the Biblical account of the flood, but that they had not completely understood it. Hence I entered the following remark in my diary: "Probably Christian influence by the missionaries" and marked the whole paragraph with a question mark.

123 A week later the secret gathering of the čiẽ́xaus began, in which I was able to participate in March, 1920 (p. 176 /untranslated/). At that time I was treated as strictly as the Indian uswẽ́ala and was not allowed to ask questions or to take notes. I remember clearly that at this initiation the names Watauinẽ́iwa and Hidẽ́buan were repeatedly used, but I was fully aware of what they meant only two years later when those names were again recalled to my memory. Although I did not grasp the fact on that occasion, I had actually discovered the Supreme Being whom the Yamana worship. I had finally come close to their religious faith.

123 On my third visit at the end of January, 1922, the men were not yet free for the planned čiẽ́xaus celebration (p. 184 /untranslated/). In order to spend the time profitably, W. Koppers, who accompanied me at that time (p. 181 /untranslated/), and I did a good deal of research during the day with the Indian women. Nelly Lawrence was regularly and gladly present and thanks to her personal stimulation the women willingly answered our questions. We all wanted to be undisturbed, and so we assembled daily in the shed, a spacious corrugated tin house in which the /1042/ Lawrence family had major housework performed, laundry, for example. This house stood apart from the small dwellings of the Yamana families.

/1042 cont./

124 776 Again one day old traditions were discussed, and the name Wataųinẽ́jwa was directly mentioned. Full of suspense we pressed for a further explanation. This caused great embarrassment among the women and there was deep silence; not even the otherwise brave Nelly ventured a word. Finally, in order to ease the constraint, old Mary summoned up her courage and said briefly: "Wataųinẽ́jwa is like God, like Christian God /cited in English/!" I was nonplused and again faced the same barrier that I had experienced two years before, apparently on the threshold of a new world of ideas to which the Indians refused admittance. Importunate questions on that afternoon would have been futile and would surely have evoked ill humor. Mary only disclosed that upon the death of an own child or a near relative, the neighbors point to [761] the mourner with the expression: "Wataųinẽ́jwa is punishing him!" This means that the deceased and his family have been punished by Wataųinẽ́jwa through this death.

After a long pause the Indian women attempted a digression. I could not accept this and ventured cautiously to come back to that anxiously guarded name. My efforts remained unsuccessful. The whole conversation flagged and our discussion simply could not get started again. In order to satisfy us and put us off once and for all, the women finally started to tell about ẽkẽtẽ́makalo-wataųinẽ́jwa. How craftily they had chosen this way out of their embarrassment! We surrendered our hope of finally finding out more about the real Wataųinẽ́jwa. Actually they only offered us the • [773] story of the small band of people who, in olden times, had set out for ẽkẽtẽ́maka, where there was stranded whale, and afterwards they remained in that region west of Ushuaia. In this combination the designation wataųinẽ́jwa has nothing to do with the name for the Fuegian deity. The crafty Indian women in this way slipped out of the trap and very smartly duped us without betraying their secret. In any case it was now clear that all kinds of things worth knowing were concealed behind that name, and to discover them would probably justify serious effort.

Several times Nelly Lawrence had willingly helped me obtain information I sought in my research on the institutions and customs of her countrymen, and this time, too, she did not fail me. As I definitely learned later, she valued the native heritage of religious ideas extraordinarily highly, and inasmuch as she

/1050 cont./

116 significant that happens goes back to him, at least as something he has permitted. He also directs the forces of nature with his own hand; the Yamana definitely express this in various ways. In this connection compare Gusinde (ℓ):161.

116 Is this ancient one to whom, as sole owner, everything visi-
113 ble belongs also regarded as its ultimate cause, as its creator? It seems to me that the Fuegians do not have a clear conception of creation (12). /1051/ They never discuss in so many words the

> 12. I shall let Bridges (i):19 speak on this question although he cannot be regarded as authoritative: "They have no tradition of their origin; for them the world was always what it is, and ever will be the same. For them it had no maker or master and they had not the least idea of pleasing or displeasing anyone beyond themselves" /cited in English/.

work of creation out of absolute nothingness, nor do they definitely emphasize that Watauinéiwa existed before the actual creations did. Nevertheless, that actually is their view, and they also see in him the origin of all that was created. They do not clearly express these truths, but tacitly they recognize them, for example, when they say: "Watauinéiwa existed alone at first! Then he made all the animals, and it was there in Yáiaašága. All animals [therefore] belong to him." Apparently no one speculates about the exact origin of human beings and all the rest; they are content to describe Watauinéiwa as the unlimited master and true owner. In this way they recognize him more or less as the sole and ultimate cause of the existence of the visible world. Compare Gusinde (ℓ): 160.

In March, 1923, I discussed this and similar ideas with old Mašemikens, and I asked him how human beings had originated. This time, too, he replied clearly and emphatically: "It is not the first time that I have been faced with this question. When I was a young man I learned the story of the many animals who were transformed back there in the great revolution at Yáiaašága. I

/1051 cont./

776 asked myself and also other men, above all, the capable yékamuš
773 and the most experienced old men, how that took place. No one knew the answer as to how human beings actually originated and where they came from. So to this day I do not know. I have often and persistently searched and tried to answer this question. At that time Tárúwalēm burned up the whole world and all the animals. And this I can't understand either, how afterwards everything was put in order again, how the huge fire was put out, and how he again restored plants and animals to this land. All this we do not know. In former years I often asked the experienced old people about this." A few days later, I sat in a circle of several old men, as was my custom, and quite spontaneously the conversation again drifted to these things. Richard repeated: "We really don't know exactly how everything came about at that time. Of course Watauinéiwa already existed in the very old days, for heaven was already here above the earth, there where the clouds are and where Watauinéiwa also stays. Before Lēm [sun] and Hánuxa [moon] and Akáinix [rainbow] wandered here on earth like human beings, Watauinéiwa was already here, for heaven existed before all of them. At that time women ruled. We do not know how and from where children came at that time, for none of the women who then ruled the men slept with their husbands and cohabited with them in order to conceive children. None of us can say where children came from in those days. It is only since the great /1052/ revolution that women are subordinate to the will of men. It was back in the time when the great fur seal
[825 tēpē-a (Arctocephalus australis) discovered how man and woman
842 should unite, she underneath and he on top of her; that gives them
831] pleasure. Since then they have done it that way to this day. When husband and wife unite in this way, then children follow. So we know where our children come from now. Where they came from before that, no one can explain. We know equally as little about where Lēm and Hanuxa and the stars come from, which at that time lived on earth just like human beings. When they [the ones mentioned] and sēf [heaven], too, were here, Watauinéiwa was also here, and he was here even long before that." Thus, no Yamana can explain definitely and clearly how the visible world originated. Nevertheless it is noteworthy that a deeply thoughtful and meditative man like Maŝemikens felt this gap and tried to fill it.

/1068 cont./

765 "to observe, watch with a view to find out anything" /cited in
539 English/, in BD:291; mutauwana, "to cease, desist" /cited in English/, in BD:366; hala and la in BD:277, 263. I heard this prayer several times at the great funeral ceremony in March, 1923.

/1069/

765 (27) Annumutá, hála kúpa túmukinananána
539 Desire, yet up there take to task

•773 Yájaašága-dáunlum kúpán téšku
776 in Yájaašága up there be pleased

aónakipačikája, tálauwája.
women from the north, alas.

In order to understand this sentence one must realize that, according to the Yamana conception, all the animals were made by Watauinéiwa in Yájaašága where there was a great revolution when the women from the north who performed the kína settled there. Thus, all the animals belong to him as his property. Anyone who wants to give full vent to his grief expresses in the above sentence his desire to cause Watauinéiwa serious harm by destroying his animals. If he should succeed in doing so, he would feel adequately compensated. -- The individual words can be found in BD:26, for example, annumutu, "to be longing for" /cited in English/. The word tūmūkinana in BD:521 refers to the strict treatment of the candidates and to the serious order of the day in the kína school. BD:400 gives tōška, "to laugh, twitter" /cited in English/.

765 Old Mašemikens, who repeated this fixed formula at the
539 large funeral ceremony in March, 1923, added a few personal thoughts and spoke freely as follows: "All animals went out from Yájaašága. Watauinéiwa brought that about. Therefore, since I cannot touch his person, I shall kill all his animals which he made. This will calm me and make me content, this will satisfy my lust for revenge!" After a long pause he went on with this thought, as follows: "Unfortunately I cannot now harm 'the-one-up-there' seriously, for I am too old [frail] and do not have enough weapons, I cannot undertake anything any more, for strength fails me, an old man. Formerly I used to carry out this plan; then I wantonly killed many animals, burned down the forest, chopped everything

/1138 cont./

115 no one believed them. How could it be true that we shall all meet again later? After all, the body disintegrates. So there will never be a reunion!" Each time she told me something about her people's doctrine of the soul, this noble woman spoke with a passion which sounded like hopelessness. The monotonous, lugubrious melody of mourning of the tálauwaja and the yamalaśemṍina will not be silenced until the earth covers the last Yamana on the distant Cape Horn Archipelago.

/1139/ C. Cosmogony and Mythology

113 The world of religious ideas with which the doctrine of the soul is subjectively connected proves to be rich and comprehensive among our Yamana, but their world of mythological personalities is more vast and alive. These two broad spheres of ideas are sharply differentiated and distinctly separate from each other; each exists by itself, so to speak. Just as the figures in the myths and legends have not been closely connected with the figure of the Supreme Being at any point in our description above, so, too, the latter appears to be entirely separate from the former; moreover, Watauinéiwa is just as far removed from the actual spirits and medicine men. Every attentive observer can easily separate the ideas of these two disparate spheres of imaginative conception, just as the Yamana do.

113 182 In former times every figure described in their myths and legends was very familiar to our Fuegians; the individual representatives of the animal world and the celestial bodies, as well as of the objects of everyday use, often awakened the familiar combinations of ideas which were associated with those figures. Formerly favorite stories were told over and over again during the long hours of comfortable fellowship in the evening around the hut fire. Unfortunately, for the last few decades the former close ethnic unity has been disrupted and the remnants of the once large group are scattered over the broad areas of their homeland in detached fragments. The surviving families, no longer very numerous, are rarely in touch with one another, and when they do meet their exchange of opinions is limited to certain details of daily life. In view of this, it is not strange that

/1139 cont./

773 182 the former general acquaintance with the rich mythological material has been lost and that the younger generation devotes more attention to all the things that came with European culture. There are only a few old people who have still preserved most of it to the present day. Why they cannot transmit this precious heritage, as was so easily possible in earlier times when the European newcomers were not yet disturbingly active, need not be specifically pointed out. Many a young person frankly regrets that the old people hold back their lovely stories even when they find willing ears in a sizable gathering of fellow-tribesmen. At present, however, all is in the process of disintegration, and the old people suffer very much under the collapse of all the institutions and customs; for that very reason they are no longer available for things which already, so to speak, belong far in the past.

538 On rare occasions one or another of them will once more offer to tell a story as in former times. /1140/ He himself takes the initiative; it would be a breach of respect if a younger person openly or with slightly veiled hints were to ask for an old myth. It is almost always an accidental circumstance that awakens remembrance of a mythological subject, and it usually happens that while someone is speaking of his experiences, his words, as though a self-contained unit, drift over into the other realm of thought. This adequately suggests the peculiar way in which the Yamana recite an old myth. Actually, the storyteller never tells the entire myth from beginning to end in the progressive continuity of a meaningful construction. Rather, the general habit is to select some part of it and add to it a personal event, an independent achievement, a unique experience. To begin with the storyteller does not care whether his own report ties up meaningfully, if one may use this word, with some part of the myth. The Yamana has a lively fancy which will not let itself be forced into rules of ordered logic. If one judges the recitation of an old Indian from this standpoint, he will be surprised to find, for example, that the thread is broken at an inappropriate point and that a short section of an entirely different nature is inserted without any justification whatever, perhaps even absurdly. An account built up this way, with a combination of elements which obviously disturb the sense, does not bother the

/1142 cont./

124
•113 The material in the following pages probably constitutes the entire treasure of myths that has been at the disposal of our Fuegians since ancient times. In gathering it, I was remarkably favored by fortune on my second journey (p. 178 /untranslated/). Although it is not customary among our Fuegians for a woman in a mixed gathering to relate long episodes from her own experiences or from a myth, nevertheless some Fuegian women faithfully preserve much legendary material in their memories, and very willingly offer it at an occasional gathering of female friends and neighbors. It seems to me that vainglory and the desire to shine in front of others by relating one's own deeds and remarkable experiences is far less developed in women than in men and that it is therefore easier for a woman storyteller, without much digression, to adhere logically to the main point of the myth. For most of the stories current among the Yamana I am indebted to the mentally alert Julia, the wife of old Alfredo, who is unanimously regarded by her countrymen as the one best informed about them. I learned from her for days (p. 178 /untranslated/). Further material that I gathered on my third and fourth journey was made up of supplementary explanations and unimportant details. Many a myth was also repeated to me by other persons. Thus I believe that I have gathered all the mythological material that the Yamana have preserved from hoary antiquity down to the present day.

a. The Origin of the World

113
153 The mentality and the way of thinking of our Fuegians have been only cursorily described above. Nevertheless, from what has been said, no European will expect much from them in the way of a clear conception of the origin of the world or a well-ordered picture of the universe. Actually they have only individual short trains of thought which can be neither consistently combined nor linked together without gaps. What may have happened at the beginning of everything visible is much too distant to merit special attention by our Fuegians, who are creatures of the moment, so to speak, for whom the given

/1142 cont./

reality of each day is of decisive importance. /1143/ Moreover, those remote events are completed episodes and accomplished facts. The Yamana clearly and definitely separate them from everything that Yoálox introduced and from what the principal persons of the individual legends undertook. The Fuegian is reminded of their achievements almost daily without any effort on his part. Important inventions and significant regulations are attributed to the younger Yoálox and some of his brothers and sisters, but they were not predominantly active in the formation of the universe. The Yamana also say that the earth was destroyed; after that orderly conditions again developed.

As was just mentioned, the individual short narratives do not form a continuous, well-ordered whole. It is quite likely that in recent times small connective pieces have been lost. I personally, however, consider it probable that the quite large gaps have existed since ancient times. I base my conclusion chiefly on statements to this effect by a few old people. I am also guided by my experience among the Selk'nam who up to the present time have preserved an imaginative conception of the origin of the universe in its final form, which is more or less complete, as well as rich in content. If the Selk'nam succeeded in preserving their ancient tales as complete, coherent units, why should the Yamana, who did not allow themselves to be robbed of many another heritage, have lost important connective portions? The fragmentary pieces that the Yamana do possess, however, will be valuable for a comparative study of myths if they can be related to some extent to the legends of other peoples.

1. Heaven and Earth

The Selk'nam are superior to the Yamana insofar as they recognize in the person of Kenós the creator of the visible world, who functions under the direction of the Supreme Being (Vol. I, 570) and who is therefore on a par with the redeemer as he appears in other mythologies. Our Fuegians regard their homeland as an accomplished, given phenomenon; they do not ask and do not

/1143 cont./

• 173 say how it originated. To this extent Bridges (b) 236 is right: "The natives preserve no tradition about their past history, nor do they know where they came from" /translated from Spanish/. I repeatedly noted, however, that the lack of clarity and the ignorance about the early beginnings of their forefathers were by no means accepted indifferently by a few men who seemed to be more meditative. They more or less perceptibly feel the lack of this knowledge, and they actually concern themselves with such problems in their reflections. They are impelled solely by the general logical demand for an adequate explanation of the tangible reality that presents itself to them. They do not, however, express their own conclusions. They are prevented from doing so by their respect for the /1144/ ancient body of thought handed down to them; they would regard analyzing it or supplementing it on the basis of their own meditations as extremely improper. Hence, amplification or reconstruction of the mythological conceptions could not be achieved, and they have been full of gaps from ancient times, even though they were the object of reflection by many persons.

In the following I am offering the few individual conceptions still held by one or another old Yamana. They tell each other these bits which are limited but significant in content. Bridges (b) 206 warns to deny this, unjustifiably, when he maintains: "They have no tradition about their origin. For them the world has always been what it is and will continue to be the same" /translated from Spanish/. Unfortunately, these details do not supplement each other to form a complete picture. They are only fragments which I was able to gather on various occasions. I arranged them in the order presented here according to their content.

C. The First Section

The events in the so-called myth of the upheaval are sometimes vividly contemplated in the minds of our Yamana. It must seem surprising that they associate the first appearance of actual people with that strange legendary material. The myth describes a great migration from the northern part of Isla Grande

/1164 cont./

• 173 southward to the north shore of Beagle Channel and thence westward to the region of Tyaxilga where these wanderers settled down forever gGunnda [1957: 337]. Quite apart from this long story, I was told:

"In very remote times many families came from the east and wandered to this region where we Tamans have since lived. They settled down right here. Immediately they began building their canoes, making weapons and all kinds of implements to hunt otter, sea lions, and birds, to gather mussels and crabs. Since then the Tamans have remained here."

It should be noted that these people were said to have come on foot and that they did not begin building their bark canoes until they were here in the present-day Tamans territory. My informants naturally assumed that the Tyalun family also arrived in this region in connection with that large group. the Tyalun brothers themselves showed the other men how to make the various implements and how to handle the weapons. At the same time the sun-man, Ishu, arrived with his family which includes his brother Aiyuis, the rainbow, whose wife is Nimuga, the moon-woman. In January, 1958, I was assured by my aged informants that in this group of migrating families Tyalun-dlenagiga /1165/ made her superior influence felt and that she played a decisive role. She enjoyed a very privileged position and commanded the other women who, in turn, dominated their own husbands. Two years later when the long myth of the origin of the Ishu observance was told, this Tyalun-dlenagiga was no longer mentioned. The real significance of this woman lies in her close relationship to her two brothers, the above-mentioned Tyalun. The latter also were not mentioned in the myth of the origin of Ishu.

These groups of roving families who settled in the present haunts of the Tamans are not regarded as actual human beings, but are thought of as personalities of a unique nature and being. They are regarded as the inhabitants who were the first to establish all kinds of things in this place, but who afterwards either climbed up to the canopy of heaven or changed themselves into animals. They form a separate small circle of significant or superior personalities who exist completely apart from those figures prominent in all the actual myths. These first men are given sole credit for

/1141 cont./

only for being the first to settle in this region, but also for many a special achievement which has become significant and decisive for the actual human beings who followed. The Beltrami (Vol. I, 838) make a similar distinction and definite separation of the two very different groups.

B. The Older Sun-Man

Our Penguins make a very definite distinction between the once mighty and violent Tawwaliba, the old sun-man, and his son Lika, the war of the day. Both, as the story goes, came to this country long ago together with that large company of fine settlers. These two personalities differ from one another in many respects. The following story is told about the old sun-man, Tawwaliba or Tawaliba.

"At that time among the families who first arrived here, there lived a man who had a very bad character. He was not only unfriendly toward everyone, but quite openly hostile, and his one thought was always to hurt everybody else. Everyone despised him. As a result, he became even more furious and tried even harder to inflict harm on everybody. He was exceedingly powerful and had great power at his disposal. Once in high Outgoon he had everything burned up that lay within his domain. At that time he was much closer to the earth than he is today. At the same time he caused all the water of the sea to boil, for he permitted a great heat wave to descend and all the leaves burned up. After that the mountain tops were empty and bare and have remained so to this very day. All this happened because in his supreme anger he sent the great heat.

"From the start Tawwaliba was very repulsive to everybody, but after that /1142/ they obviously hated him. They not only hated and abhorred him, but all his nearest relatives as well. His whole family was avoided and despised by all the people, for every member of that family behaved unkindly and was bent on hurting other people. Only Lika, son of old Tawwaliba, was a conspicuous exception. He proved to be extremely benevolent toward all the rest of the people. He was an excellent hunter and

/1146 cont./

•173 B1 was skilled in many things. He was kind toward everyone and always ready to help.

"The women (71) then deliberated a long time in secret.

> 71. One must realize that at that time the women were said to rule the men and that everywhere they alone laid down the law. That is why they alone gathered for consultations and reached decisions which were binding for everyone, especially for the men. For the present compare Gwinde (July 1937).

Finally they decided to murder malevolent old Throwalikm. One day they made a surprise attack on him and tried to strangle him. Since he was very strong, however, he succeeded in extricating himself. He immediately hastened up to the canopy of heaven where he stands to this day as a bright star, but he forfeited his former power. Today one no longer sees him. It was not until after the great upheaval at the time of the women that Lihn also climbed up to the canopy of heaven to join his father Throwalikm.

The Yamana repeatedly assured me that he has lost his former power, that he is probably standing somewhere in the heavens but that he is invisible. He is also mentioned in another connection. The Yamana tell the following. "A long time ago all the ihkut of the [at that time so-called] human beings who died here went far away to Lemaskai (72). There these ihkut

> 72. The Yamana use this designation for a far distant region which they are unable to describe more specifically.

formed a people of their own. All of them, young and old, enjoyed the game of ball, hilaka. Once mighty Throwalikm quite suddenly appeared in the east and set fire to the whole region. After a time he tried to take away the great heat, but he did not succeed. That is why the ihkut left that region. Afterward, when Throwalikm himself also left that region, it did cool off.

/1146 cont./

773
821

At that same time the whole world burned up, and afterward everything cooled off again."

I find it impossible to link this brief story meaningfully with the other events of that first period, chiefly because it mentions the souls which were supposed to have assembled after death. Aside from that, however, old Tárúwalēm is clearly depicted as having once been an extremely mighty sun whose strength surpassed by far that of the actual day star. The Yamana point out that Lēm could not set fire to the whole earth in the way that his father did. They do not mention any other connections between these two personalities.

/1147/ γ. The Younger Sun-Man

The relationship between old Tárúwalēm and Lēm is that of father and son. In contrast to the father, the son is described as very benevolent and friendly toward human beings. This is tangibly expressed in the beneficial warmth that the day star provides. The Yamana have more to say about Lēm (73).

> 73. A first modest reference is found in Despard (b):698: "The Firelander supposes the sun and moon, male and female, to be very old indeed, and that some old man, who knew their maker, had died without leaving information upon this subject. Hence the ignorance of the present generation" /cited in English/.

"Lēm was an excellent man and had great influence upon all men. They willingly yielded to him, for he was friendly and benevolent toward everyone. He was so handsome and had such a fine figure that all the women wanted to stare at him constantly. But they all guarded against revealing this desire or even looking at him with open eyes, so that they would not be ridiculed by others. Lēm was quite charming. All the women were in love with him, and all the men regarded him highly.

/1147 cont./

773 "His wife was also very beautiful. No one knows her name. Lēm had several beautiful daughters, namely, tákaša (Larus belcheri), wémar-kipa (Larus glaucodes), the sea duck wíyen (Anas cristata), the gull kiwágu (Larus dominicanus), the Magellanic goose kímoa (Chloephaga picta /upland goose/), the duck wípatux (Querquedula cyanoptera), as well as the she-fox čílawájakipa (Canis magellanicus) and the rat wésána. The last two secretly dragged off the meat that their father brought home from the hunt; they stole it from him regularly. They are doing it [stealing] to this day. Lēm also had other daughters, as well as several sons. One of them is Yéxalēm who constantly follows his father.

773 "Lēm was diligent and hard-working, good and always merry, friendly toward everyone. He was on the best of terms with all the men. He set a fine example of an active, good-natured human being for everyone. In this respect [that is, in his whole character] nothing has changed to this day. Back in the time of the great upheaval in Yájaašága he helped the men considerably in gaining control of the kína of the women. After that upheaval was over, he went up to the canopy of heaven. From there he is still proving himself benevolent and willing to help human beings; he bestows ample warmth and light upon everyone. All men are obviously proud of him, for he uncovered the kína secret of the women and thus freed the men from their dependence upon the women.

"Actually there is still another world. That is why Lēm leaves the region of the Yamana every evening and betakes himself there. In that other world he also shines and bestows abundant warmth. The next morning he comes back to us once more. In this way he helps the people both here and there."

The portrayal as such shows clearly enough how gratefully /1148/ the Yamana regard the day star. Obviously this favorable attitude goes back to the feeling of well-being which sunshine induces in the Yamana, who are often shaken by frosty winds and severe weather. The planet Venus was pointed out to me as Yéxalēm, son of Lēm, for "this son invariably follows close behind his father, but is not as strong as the latter." This refers to the considerably weaker luminosity of Venus as compared to the

/1148 cont./

773 821 day star. Concerning "that other world" for which Lēm also kindly shines, the Yamana are referring quite generally to the territory of those peoples whom they assume live beyond their own territory. In more recent times they are thinking especially of the Whites whose home, as they are constantly assured, is far away from the Fuegian archipelago (74).

[171]

74. There are a number of points of similarity between this description and the Selk'nam story of the old sun-man and his son, the day star. The only special point to be noted is that the latter was also decisively active in revealing the Kloketen secret of the women (Vol. I, 600).

δ. The Rainbow

821 With weather conditions as they are in the Cape Horn region, the rainbow is anything but a rare phenomenon. Nevertheless, it always delights our Yamana. One can clearly see that they love to look at it and that it gives them a great deal of satisfaction. They are refreshed and gratified by its radiant colors. On many occasions I observed how adults and children, even in pouring rain, crawled out of their hut, stood outside, and, wide-eyed, enjoyed the intense glow of the rainbow (75).

75. Cojazzi:105 writes: "The rainbow is regarded as the harbinger of the wrath above [of the malignant god], and the women and girls shudder at the sight of it, but the men curse it and spit at it" /translated from Italian/. This report is altogether erroneous and contrary to my own observations.

773 821 At the same time I was told in a wholly matter-of-fact tone: "This Akáinix is the brother of Lēm and likewise an imposing, very handsome man. How could it be otherwise, since both belong to the same family. Of all men Akáinix knew how to paint himself best; even today he shows himself in unattainably

/1148 cont./

773
821

brilliant colors. Beautiful Hānuxa is his wife."

The combination Akā́jnix wā́tuwa is her complete name, little used in everyday speech. BD:265 writes hannūka, but also gives hannūkaiāgū, "moonlight" /cited in English/. This is the story of the rainbow.

"Old Akā́jnix was a magnificent figure. He knew how to paint himself much more beautifully than all the other men, for he belonged to a privileged family. The imposing Lēm is his brother; Hānuxḗakuxípa is his wife. She is also extraordinarily beautiful, for she is a woman. /1149/ Akā́jnix also has a number of sisters, all of whom are very grand, clever, and cunning. He himself also proved to all the people that he was a capable yēkamuš.

"Once the sisters were again playing kīna in Yā́jaaš̆ā́ga. Old Akā́jnix was permitted to enter the large kína hut, for he knew all about that secret ceremony of the women. That is why he was admitted. One day his sisters amused themselves by trying to play dead. They decided to hold their breath and not to move for a long time, in imitation of a dead person. They wanted to fool their relatives and frighten them for fun.

"For some time they had been busy with these attempts and exerted themselves to the utmost, but no matter how hard they tried, they could not succeed. One day the girls were again trying these experiments when old Akā́jnix approached the kína hut. He was the oldest among all his brothers and sisters. When his youngest sister saw him coming, she immediately told the others and said: 'It will be wise to stop our attempts and experiments immediately; our brother is close by and might see what we are doing.' But Akā́jnix was already standing inside the kína hut. He asked his sisters: 'What are you doing here?' They all replied: 'Nothing special! As usual, we are devoting ourselves to our tasks and our songs in this hut.' Akā́jnix replied: 'What you are saying is not true at all. I know very well what you have just been up to: each of you tried to appear completely motionless, as though dead, without breathing for a long time. But you did not succeed as I know very well. Now then, I myself shall show you how to do this properly!' These girls, of course, wanted to dupe all their relatives living in the south and purposely frighten them in order to

/1149 cont./

amuse themselves. They were the only ones who had come here from the south and they were taking part in the kĭna in order to hide their real purpose. Akā́jnix saw through all that and that is why he offered to help his sisters.

"So Akā́jnix lay down on the ground and stretched out full length; he became completely still, soon stopped breathing, and remained motionless, just like a dead person. His sisters watched all this and conceded: 'Truly, our brother can do that very well, he is lying there just like a dead man'' Akā́jnix was, after all, a capable yékamuš.

"The kĭna celebration was over and all the people left the *great hut. Each family again turned homeward.* Akā́jnix and his sisters also climbed into their canoe. They set out in a southerly direction where their relatives lived. They had to travel several days, for the distance was great. Just before they approached the huts where their relatives were living, they stopped briefly. Akā́jnix stayed behind here; he lay down on the ground, stretched out full length, and pretended he was dead. His wife, Hánuxéakuxĭpa, and all his daughters painted /1150/ their entire bodies black, as is done in deep mourning. Thus [prepared] they entered the hut of their relatives. Dismayed, the latter asked immediately: 'Where is Akā́jnix? Why do you come with the painting of mourning?' The girls replied very sadly: 'Our brother just died, not far from here. We left him lying out there, quite near this hut. That is why we put on the painting of mourning!' After these words by the sad girls, a few men immediately got up and went to the place where Akā́jnix lay. They soon brought him back and laid him in their hut. Akā́jnix himself continued to pretend that he was dead. In view of this, the other people prepared for a yamalašémŏ́ina. All the relatives gathered, wept loudly, and sang for several days.

"Meanwhile a few amorous men approached the wife of Akā́jnix and his sisters. They began flirting, since these women were exceedingly beautiful. The men fondled them and slept with them. Akā́jnix lay there completely motionless, but he observed very closely what happened. While all this was going on, several days passed. Finally the men became obtrusive and wanted the girls as their wives. They had flirted with them long

[Errata indicates this should read: sisters. —Analyst]

/1150 cent./

773 821 enough. The wife and sisters of Akáinix had yielded to everything, for they knew that Akáinix was not dead and would take full revenge. Those men behaved more and more as though the women already belonged to them as wives.

"Now one day those amorous men set out on the hunt; there was no more meat in the huts. They planned to hunt for cormorants on the nearby cliffs. Their [female] relatives, kímoa and lúrux, šíkuš and wípatux, stayed behind with the wife and sisters of Akáinix.

"When the men were far enough from the hut, Akáinix got up without being seen and hastened after them. He set out in another direction, however. He reached the cliffs before the men arrived to hunt cormorants. Akáinix created a commotion among the many birds and frightened them. They flew up in swarms, circled around for some time, and then flew far out over the sea. He hid himself nearby. From afar the men saw how all the birds flew up from the cliffs. They said: 'Doubtless there is a man running around there somewhere, for all the cormorants are rising up, circling in the air, flying up and down, and finally drifting far out to sea. Who could that man be?' Meanwhile they came to the place, but the cormorants were hovering far out over the waves.

"Quite unexpectedly Akáinix stepped out of his hiding-place and stood before the men. They were terribly startled when they suddenly found themselves face to face with Akáinix. Immediately they realized what would now happen to them. Akáinix spoke to them: 'You came here /1151/ to hunt cormorants? All the animals flew away. Only down there not far from the shore are there still a great many standing close together. Don't be afraid to step into the water, it is shallow!' The men obeyed at once, as though they had lost all capacity to think; they were so frightened that they had no idea what they were doing. So they pushed ahead far into the water in order to get quite close to the cormorants. As soon as they were in so far that they could move only with some effort, Akáinix skillfully used his powerful sling and killed all the men. Thus he avenged himself, his wife, and his sisters.

"Without delay he hastened back to the hut. He did not reveal that he had killed all those men. After a while their

/1151 cont./

773 821 relatives asked: 'Why are our men gone such a long time? Did you perhaps see them out there near that cliff?' Akā́inix answered: 'Certainly I saw them. They stepped into the sea in order to reach the cormorants who were swimming far out. Have patience, they will probably soon return!' The women again waited a long time, but the men did not return. After a while they became convinced that Akā́inix himself had murdered all the men. They were overcome with anger and seized with rage. They began to suspect Akā́inix openly and attacked him angrily. This aroused him and he began defending himself violently. Soon there was a terrific struggle between Akā́inix and the men who were present. He was hard pressed because his opponents were numerous. They held him fast, but did not succeed in killing him. For some time they choked him and tried to break his neck, but they did not succeed despite the greatest effort, for he was a mighty yéḱamuš. They only managed to bend his neck and his long back so far that since then he cannot quite raise himself up straight. Yā́i, the son of Akā́inix, also took part in this struggle and defended his father. The men, therefore, choked him just as they did his father and they also bent his spine. Since then Akā́inix and his son Yā́i (76) have remained deeply bowed and

76. This is the second, pale rainbow which sometimes accompanies the bright one.

curved to this day (77). The relatives of those amorous men whom

[171] 77. This clear mythical motif is also familiar to the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 609).

Akā́inix murdered, however, also carried off something from that struggle. They soiled themselves with ímí while they were choking Akā́inix, for he was a yéḱamuš and therefore painted red all over, as is customary for a yéḱamuš who has died. To this day these birds (78) carry the stain of red color on their feathers."

78. They were not mentioned by name or described in any other way. -- The story assumes conditions after the great upheaval.

773 /1152/ This story was told me by Alfredo while I was sitting all alone with him and there were no women around. In one place in the story the kīna secret is mentioned, and they strictly keep this from the women. Later the same story, somewhat shortened, was repeated to me by old Mary. She omitted the brief reference to the kīna celebration. The Yamana designation Akáinix obviously corresponds to Akáinix of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 609), but the latter do not have a separate story about the rainbow. BD:15 gives akainix, "the rainbow" /cited in English/.

E. The Moon-Woman

773 821 The Yamana usually use the name Hánuxa for this mythological person, less often the longer and more specific form Hānuxēakuxīpa. She is regarded as the wife of Akáinix and as outstandingly beautiful and shapely. Neither women nor men speak of her in friendly terms, least of all the men. Once upon a time the moon-woman had a great influence on all women, and through them on all men as well. Everyone was obliged to yield to her commands and instructions. Her position of power was felt especially with regard to the kīna secrets of the women. Although at that time Yoálox-tárnuxīpa had precedence, Hánuxa always had an influential part in the kīna. She was a malevolent, vicious woman and obviously hostile to all men. To this very day her hatred toward men has not diminished.

My informants did not agree about her children. Old Whaits told me briefly in 1919: "Hānuxa had three sons altogether, who soon died, one after the other (79). Today they stand up there

79. He was referring not to actual death but to a departure from the previous form of existence on this earth and subsequent life on the visible canopy of heaven.

near the lunar orb. None of the present-day Yamana knows her name." Since old Whaits was blind he could not show me the stars he spoke of. The next year I learned from Maŝemikens: "Hánuxa had only one son who, like his mother, was outstandingly

/1152 cont./

773 821 handsome and shapely. He died very young. In her grief over this great loss Hánuxa made numerous small cuts on her face so that much blood flowed. That is why to this day one sometimes sees her colored red all over, a sign of her sorrow (80). That son

80. Two well-known expressions of mourning are mentioned here, namely, surface cuts in the skin and body painting. The former meant more to the earlier generations than to the Yamana of today.

of hers became a star, no one knows his name."

To my surprise and contrary to the majority of old people, Whaits was of the opinion that Hánuxa caused the great flood. He said: "When Hánuxa is colored red all over, /1153/ she makes it plain that she is once again very angry with human beings (81)

81. This is the exact view of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 601).

and again threatens a great flood. That is why all the Yamana become terribly frightened when they see this sign." Others gave the reason previously mentioned for this phenomenon and emphatically declared that the old man was mistaken. They did say, however, that the great flood had actually come in connection with the general upheaval in Yáĵaaŝága and that the moon-woman played a decisive part in it.

Men and women agree that the phases of the moon are the course of her pregnancy: "At first, when Hánuxa is very lean and thin [beginning moon] she conceives a daughter. This child slowly develops in her belly and finally becomes quite big [full moon]. Then the child is born. After that the moon-woman's girth decreases, she becomes constantly leaner, sickly, and weak [waning moon]. Finally she dies and is no longer visible, but then the newborn daughter slowly grows. She, too, conceives, and everything is repeated again, just as in the case of her mother."

Two women explained the phases of the moon somewhat differently to me: "Slowly, like any child, Hánuxa grows very

/1153 cont./

773 821 slowly. She is still young and therefore small and thin. Gradually she becomes a full-bodied, adult woman. Then she conceives a daughter whom she carries under her heart [full moon]. After that her strength constantly decreases, and she becomes weaker and weaker [waning moon], in fact so weak finally that she nears the end of her life. Then she gives life to her daughter. Since she is giving birth, she makes herself inaccessible and avoids the glances of human beings. Soon she herself dies, but her daughter begins to live and to grow; she develops exactly like her mother. Sometimes this moon-child Hánuxa-xéolan comes down to earth. No one sees it except the yékamus. They can also hear it when it cries and weeps in its own peculiar way." According to this interpretation the appearance of the new moon is a progressive succession of generations and each moon's change is the development of a mother (82).

[771]

82. The Selk'nam (Vol. I, 601) have more to say about the moon-woman. Some of their views deviate, others coincide in significant details with what I learned from the Yamana.

The Yamana do not have anything further to say about the children of the parental pair, Akánix, the rainbow, and Hánuxéakuxípa, the moon-woman, or about their forefathers. They simply say that this couple came here along with the other families during the first immigration from the east.

ʃ. The Deluge

773 Several times reference has been made to a general flood, about which every adult is well informed. This is probably the reason that the reports of several missionaries /1154/ contain casual references to this belief. In Outes (g):54 one reads: "They believe in a period of great tides, and when the waters covered a good part of the country, a box happened to come floating by and stopped on the summit of a high mountain. This box

/1154 cont./

•113 contained a pair of Fuegians, small ones, completely like those of today, who procreated very large men, and later, these giants procreated little people, like the present-day Fuegians. Then a dispute broke out between the big people and the little people, the latter killing and destroying the former and thus remaining the single race that we know today. It is seen, then, that these tribes...have a conception of a deluge" /translated from Spanish/. Aside from the mere mention of a universal deluge, I can only be strongly suspicious of this whole account, for I did not come across similar ideas there. Bridges (a):211 expresses himself more reliably: "They have a tradition of the flood...Their tradition of the deluge is very whimsical and indistinct. The sun was submerged in the sea, the waters rose tumultuously, and all lands were submerged, save a lofty mountain where a few individuals had taken shelter" /cited in English/. According to Martial:213, the Yamana explain that universal flood: "by the fall of the sun into the sea; there it has remained and has left, as a sign of its passage on earth, only a small lake which one can still see near Ushuaia. This is sufficiently verified in their eyes by the presence of whalebones found in this lake which is actually about ten meters above sea level. The preservation of the human species was assured by the escape of one man and one woman who with their canoe found refuge on a high mountain" /translated from French/. The important thing in this description is that the deluge is linked with the general upheaval, even though this connection is not very clear. Even Spears:76 has this to report: "They had a tradition that in by-gone years a great flood raised the waters to the level of certain lines on the mountains, to which they point the traveller" /cited in English/. It is true, certain marks on a few mountain peaks, which our Yamana regard as traces of that universal flood, constantly remind them of the old myth, and they mention it to everyone to whom they point out these mountains. I myself experienced this several times and was thus made familiar with the basic ideas of that story.

Old Whaita, in 1919, was the first who told me: "The moon-woman Hanuxa caused the great flood. This was at the time of the general upheaval in Yáʔaaʔága. Hánuxa was filled with

/1154 cont./

•113 hatred toward human beings, most of all toward the men who had gained control of the kīna of the women. At that time everybody drowned with the exception of those few who were able to escape to the five mountain peaks to which the water did not rise. Scarcely had the great flood subsided when those few people came down from the mountain peaks to the /1155/ shores of our channels, and our country became populated anew." Concerning this description more reliable informants would not concede that the great flood was caused by the moon-woman.

Nevertheless, another version noted by Cojazzi:105 clearly speaks in favor of it: "A Yahgan tribe near Ushuaia narrated that the moon once fell into the sea, causing the water to rise so high that only the top of a mountain stood out, on which the swifter men and animals saved themselves. When the moon later returned to the sky, the water receded and then the men and animals, descending from the mountain, found in the lagoon below a dead whale which they ate" /translated from Italian/. Still another version is related to this one: "This legend is told somewhat differently by the other Yahgan west of Harbertón. Some men and animals did not save themselves on top of a mountain, but on Cable Island which, detached from the bottom of the sea, floated like a big boat (83) until, when

83. Here a motif is repeated which was mentioned earlier in Outes (g):54 (see p. 1113.

the moon returned to the sky, it became rooted again to the bottom of the sea" /translated from Italian/.

In January, 1920, I heard the following version from Alfredo, Charlin, and Richard in the presence of a few young men: "The very touchy Lexuwakīpa (84) was offended by human

84. This refers to the strong, rust-colored spectacled ibis, Theristicus melanopis.

beings. In revenge she caused a great deal of snow to fall. A huge mass of ice finally covered the whole earth. When this

/1155 cont./

•773 began to melt, there was so much water that the earth became completely flooded. That woman planned to destroy the whole world and all the people. The ice came just at the time of the universal upheaval in Yáiaašága, when the men were carrying on their battle with the women and gained control of the kína. -- In this connection see Lé̱xuwakīpa wátuwa on page 1232 /untranslated/.

"After the ice period the whole earth became flooded. The tremendous amount of water rose constantly and quickly. Everybody hastened to the canoes and sat down in them; they all wanted to save themselves. The water rose higher and higher; it even reached the mountain tops and covered one after the other. Finally there were only five peaks that rose above the great flood. The tremendous inundation came extraordinarily quickly and there were high waves so that the people could not provide themselves with food. Many of them did not even reach their canoes and almost all the human beings drowned in the huge flood. The distress everywhere was indescribable. There was no hope for the ones who could not flee in their canoes in time and hold out in some protected spot.

773 823 "The fortunate people were those who in their canoes reached one of the five mountain tops which rose up out of the water. There they found safety. Those mountain peaks are [1] Uš̌láka in what is now Packsaddle Bay on the Hardy Peninsula. High up one can still see broad bands which indicate how high the great flood reached. [2] Wémarᵡwaja opposite O'Brien Island, where one sees a /1156/ cut reaching all around the rock. It was made when many canoes were tied up there, but almost all nevertheless perished. [3] Auwáratulē̱ra in a hidden corner of Estero Ponsonby. At this place there is still a thick pole to which several canoes were fastened at that time. This pole has turned to stone, for it has been there a very long time. [4] Wē̱lalánux on Gable Island. There the high peak formerly rose still higher. It has become considerably lower because strong waves are constantly pounding it. [5] Pjatulē̱ra, two steep eminences on either side of the mouth of the Rio Douglas. Today they are no longer as high as at the time when the great flood covered all the land.

/1156 cont./

773 "After the mighty flood had reached its highest level so that the above-mentioned five peaks were barely visible, the water remained at this level for two whole days. After that it quickly receded and drained off. Only a few families had succeeded in saving themselves; almost all the Yamana were drowned. After the great flood had drained off, those few people began building their huts again on the shore. From that time on the men dictate to the women."

773 776 After I had heard this story, I happened to talk to Alfredo the next day about the same subject, and I asked him pointedly: "Who sent those huge amounts of water? Does Lēxuwakīpa really have so much power?" The old man answered definitely and with conviction: "Actually it was mighty Watauinéiwa who permitted the mighty flood to come; Lēxuwakīpa persuaded him to do this. She wanted to destroy the whole world. At any rate she succeeded with Watauinéiwa so that the great flood descended."

It should be noted that on this occasion I was unable to find out anything more about the figure of Watauinéiwa. There was noticeable timidity in the mention of this name, as though my informant had let it slip out unconsciously and against his will. He refused to disclose anything further despite repeated requests. Later I was able to account perfectly for this strange behavior, but at that time, under the influence of the startled faces when the name Watauinéiwa was mentioned, I lost my head to a certain extent. I could not understand why Alfredo refused to give me further explanations. Finally I began to think that the story of the deluge had been given to the Yamana by the missionaries and that their uncertainty in Biblical matters in my presence had caused the embarrassment that I read in all their faces. I carefully noted this explanation in my diary. Later my doubts on this subject disappeared. A specific argument for the authenticity of the myth of the deluge is that neither Alfredo nor Maŝemikens had any contact worth mentioning with any mission station. Two years later, in 1922, Maŝemikens confirmed the entire content of this legend of the flood as I have just given it. /1157/ He did not, however, specifically speak of the direct influence of Watauinéiwa in the general deluge, although he conceded it indirectly.

/1157 cont./

173 The Yamana have not preserved a consistent text of the myth of the deluge, although nothing has been changed in the basic idea. Fred Lawrence also realized that there was some uncertainty, and he once told me that since childhood he had observed that this myth was never told consistently and with the same words by the various individuals. There were always small deviations. He himself, therefore, has never been clear about whether the general conflagration when the old sun-man was nearer the earth and let everything burn up and the great flood coincided approximately in point of time. Refer to the Selk'nam for comparison (Vol. I, 625). They, too, have a myth of a deluge which has a corresponding basic idea, but which is not clear in some parts.

η. Origin of These Personalities

The myths state quite clearly that the first settlers of the present-day Yamana region immigrated as adults. They do not say anything, however, about their origin, that is, their point of departure and how they came into being. The actual process of giving birth was first introduced by Yoálox and since then there have been real human beings, but the Yamana have no clear idea how those first heroes or pre-humans originated. This makes the distinction between the two groups all the more definite.

One day when I asked knowledgeable Maʃemikens how those personalities of former times had happened to come into the world, he paused to think seriously for some time and then replied: "This is not the first time that I have been faced with that question. As a young man I was admitted to the kina; there I was told [in the myth of the upheaval] how all the animals originated. Since then I have now and then asked myself, as well as others, especially the famous yékamuʃ and experienced old men, about how those people originated [who afterwards transformed themselves into animals] and why they came here, but no one knew the answer. So I am not clear about it to this day, although I have thought about it for a long time and have often sought an answer to this question. At that time Táruwaikm

/1157 cont./

113 burned up the whole world and all the animals. But how everything became orderly again after that, how the country came alive again with plants and animals, who it was that finally extinguished the great fire -- all this we do not know. In former years I often asked the most experienced Yamana about it, but no one was able to help me."

On another occasion, in March, 1923, among a group of old /1158/ men, I again touched on the subject of how, in their opinion, the heroes and the first animals originated. I actually challenged them by saying: "You tell the story that Watauinéiwa made all the animals (bif) in Tjisaliga. Very well, but how did human beings come into being at that time?" The answer was: "We don't know that exactly. Watauinéiwa, of course, existed a very long time ago, for heaven was already there above the earth where the clouds are. That is where Watauinéiwa always stayed. Back in the days when Lêm and Hánuya and Akáinix were still wandering down here on earth, they were exactly like us today. But Watauinéiwa existed before them, because heaven was already there as we see it now. At that time the sky was much closer to the earth than it is nowadays.

113 133 "At that time the women ruled, they gave orders to the men. But we do not know how children came into being in those days, since women played the leading role, they would not lie under the men [ad copulam perficiendam /to facilitate coitum/]. So we do not know how children originated. Since the great upheaval, the women are dominated by the men. At that time the great seal sîpa'wa (Accrocephalus australis) discovered the place [on the body] where the libido sexualis is, and this he made known to the men. He said: 'Vir incubus immittat membrum suum mulieri succubae /man, lying on top, puts his member in woman lying underneath/!' Since that time the men dictate to the women, they lie on top of them; this gives them great pleasure and in this way children come into existence. Even today the Yamana do the same thing. We do not know how Lêm and Hánuya and all the rest who now appear up there as stars originated. Long before that Watauinéiwa, as well as the canopy of heaven, was there.

113 "During that great upheaval in which the men rose up against the women who had brought the kina game down here from

/1158 cont./

•773 the north, Lém with all the rest of his family rose up to heaven where they are still standing. At that time a woman tried to see if she could transform herself and turn into Hayčélla. She tried for a long time and finally succeeded. Since then she stays under the earth. We cannot explain how she managed to do this. After that this woman produced many other Hayčélla, and always when she slept with a man. She herself chose the man with whom she wanted to sleep, aroused him [libidine sexuali], and then a child came into being."

This story clearly emphasizes a difference between those personalities who appeared as the first settlers of the Cape Horn region and the actual Yamana who followed them. The Fuegians do not know how the former originated. After the seat of libido sexualis and the union of the sexes per copulam was discovered, conception and birth take place, children originate, and they are the actual human beings who are separate from the earlier heroic personalities and who represent a later people of this region.

/1159/ 2. The Culture-Bearers

The picture of the world that the above-mentioned myths describe is limited. The Yamana are far more concerned with the details of how their own way of life and their material possessions came about. The extraordinarily significant inventions and important rules for community life which form the basis of the uniqueness of these Fuegians are traced back to the Yoálox family, the members of which must be recognized as culture-bearers in the fullest sense of the word. The youngest member of this family is outstanding and more influential than his brothers and sisters.

In general the Yamana are proud of the Yoálox family because it achieved great things and brought so much. The younger Yoálox is not a popular personality; he is purposely mentioned only rarely among adults. The young people become acquainted with him only when they mature. The ulwéala in the číhaga are told about this family in detail. For example, the adults will say: "Yoálox told us how we Yamana should conduct ourselves!" They are referring to the traditional habits of life and the moral precepts.

/1159 cont./

•113 With these words they wish to show how influential he is himself and how significant everything is that he introduced. He is clearly identified as the bearer of the decrees that Watauineiwa himself issued to the Yamana. This intermediary position, however, has no effect in practical life. Girls learn about him on the occasion of their menarche (p.575). The complete set of Yahlis stories is repeated in the kina.

In view of this it is not strange that earlier travelers did not hear a word about these mythological personalities. Spencer:101 was the only one to whom very brief hints were given: "Yuilish, a Yahgan, was a woman who invented arrow-heads. Two brothers and a sister. Brothers used to kill seal with pointed stick. Sister thought and invented arrow-head. Sister one day put arrow-head at end of spear. When she died, Yuilish went up to heaven, and is now a star" /cited in English/. During long conversations with the oldest men, I learned the following which I have arranged freely in my own fashion. Women avoid speaking of him out of marked aversion.

G. The Yoalos Family

The Yamana all agree that the two Yahlis brothers are quite superior personalities, extraordinarily intelligent and skilful in every respect, endowed with rich gifts of invention and full of the urge to do things. This is far more true of the younger Yahlis who excels his older brother in every respect. "Their older sister, Yahlis-shoupin, was actually the cleverest person of all. She had great influence on her two brothers and most by them in everything, for she was highly gifted and very skilful, extraordinarily capable in all things. There are two more sisters (p.1144), but no /1160/ one remembers their names or what they did." The mother of them all (p.951) is likewise mentioned, but not the father.

On a number of occasions I was emphatically assured that the members of the Yahlis family "are the first human beings." A first settlement has been mentioned above (p.1160). It consisted of creatures which became men and animals. If in this

/1160 cont./

•773 connection the expression "ten human beings" is again mentioned, it is merely to show that the Tuglus were present before the age of actual human beings. These Tuglus are not regarded as human beings in the strict sense of the word, but they are not associated with the personalities grouped around Lâo. It seems almost as though the preceding age had come to a close, and the Tuglus (or their part inasmuch with their appearance a new type of existence in preparation for the actual, true human beings.

Then the story goes on. "The Tuglus family took long journeys throughout the wide world before they finally came here where the Tarumis live today. Here, then, they began all kinds of work. When soon the [actual] human beings appeared who were born here [on the spot], the Tuglus taught them how they should arrange everything, what attitude they should have toward one another, and how they should associate with one another. The Tuglus also showed people all kinds of implements, utensils, weapons, and tools and taught them to handle all these things successfully. They were, after all, very capable men, that is why they invented the various weapons and tools which we use nowadays in hunting and fishing, in gathering, and in killing animals. They also showed how animals are to be reached in the water and on land, the great whales and sea lions, the otters and bears, the many birds, the shellfish and crustaceans, how to skin them and make the skin serviceable, how to use and prepare the meat. All this the Tuglus invented and transmitted to human beings. Tuglus-Kamuiyo was the cleverer, and the younger brother, in turn, far surpassed the older one. They prove that a younger brother is often more capable and cleverer than his older brother."

All the Tarumis are in complete agreement about the description of the persons set forth here. The stories that follow are more or less well known to every adult Tarumis.

β. The Invention of Fire

773 It is said: Once the older Tuglus collected many small
775 stones and amused himself by kicking them against one another. Among them there was also a good [illegible] (p. 99). When he hit

/1180 cons./

To 12 this against another stone, a small spark shot out. Surprised at this, he hit these stones together several times and each time /1181/ sparks shot out. Gently he seized a handful of down-feathers. He placed them on the ground. Once more he began striking a spark from the flint. He placed himself in such a way as to hit the stone from a certain direction so that the spark leaped into the down-feathers. They began to glow, caught fire, and soon a small flame leaped up. They Talking quickly brought brush and wood and put it all on top. Then a big fire burned. It gave a most comfortable warmth. It felt good to Talking to sit beside the fire during the day and to sleep beside it at night. The fire also proved useful for many other things. It helped roast the meat, dry the skins, and bend pieces of bark and sticks so neighbors them out.

Highly pleased, the elder Talking cried out: "The fire is unmistakably beneficial and does many things. Let us keep it burning constantly, so that it will never go out. Once lighted, may it go on burning by itself so that human beings will have no trouble using it. They should not have to make an effort to re-kindle it every time [in every case of need] or keep on feeding it with wood!" The younger Talking heard these words, and they put him in a bad humor. He did not at all like what his brother was planning. He immediately replied. "I am not in favor of what you wish. It is much better if people have to exert themselves. Everyone should make an human effort for the fire and should tend it carefully. Why everyone have to rekindle the fire anew if he has let it go out. Human beings should work!" Incidentally he reached for a long stick, poked around in the embers with it, and scattered the smoldering logs. Then the whole fire went out. Since then every fire without exception will go out if it is not constantly and carefully tended. Then everyone is forced to work.

Talking taught human beings how they must light their fire with the flint, how they must fan it and keep it going. Since then a person whose fire goes out must relight it with a great deal of effort. Talking wanted to have all human beings so guard the fire with incessant vigilance. Failing this, a person will lose it and will find himself forced to rekindle a new fire with great effort and keep it going.

/1161 cont./

8. Hunting Birds

713 The Tarnana tell: The two Tgälog went hunting whenever they lacked meat for food. They always killed birds with their slings. The older Tgälog found all this too much trouble and he always felt that it was a great chore. One day he said to his brother: "I would like it better if we killed birds merely with a glance. A bird that is given a penetrating look shall immediately fall dead. Let it be thus: anyone who needs the meat of a bird shall cast a sharp eye on it and therewith kill it! In this way everyone can /1162/ effortlessly obtain his booty and carry it home!" The older Tgälog immediately tried it. A few birds happened to be flying overhead. He fixed them with his eye and at the same time willed them to fall to the ground dead. Sure enough, that is what happened; all these birds immediately dropped dead in front of him. The older Tgälog was pleased beyond measure and said: "From now on it shall always be thus and we shall also teach human beings how to do this: anyone who stares at a bird in order to make it fall dead shall always be successful! In this way we shall save ourselves a lot of bother and trouble, the monotonous journeys, and many dangers." The younger Tgälog heard these words. He very much disliked his elder brother's plan and opposed it angrily. He replied: "It is much more beneficial for people to make weapons and implements and set out to hunt with them. They should exert themselves and use cunning when they creep up on birds and surprise them in order to kill them and seize them. It shall be that all must work and make an effort!"

The older Tgälog was very much put out by his younger brother's words; he did not reply. On the following day he tried again to kill a few birds with a mere glance. A whole flock just happened to be flying above him. Immediately he stared hard at the animals and willed them to fall dead, but they kept on flying, unharmed. Disappointed and displeased the older Tgälog looked after them. From that time on every human being must use cunning and effort if he wants to catch birds. Very often the prey escapes the awkward hunter.

/1162 cont./

8. Hunting the Sea Lion

•773 It is told: Once the elder Yoálox received a beautifully made harpoon from his elder sister. It proved very serviceable. This weapon never missed its mark. He always obtained booty with it and each time he carried it back in his hand.

One day he again returned home from the hunt, loaded down with a huge sea lion. Although he had killed it with the first blow, he broke his harpoon in doing so and lost it. So the elder Yoálox said to his younger brother: "How convenient it would be if I had a harpoon that I would never lose and that would never break! This is the way it ought to be: at the first thrust the sea lion ought to fall over dead and the weapon immediately return to the hand of the hunter. In this way we should save ourselves and human beings a great deal of trouble and bother. Then we would not have to exert any particular effort to make the harpoon carefully. Everyone would safely and easily obtain fat and meat from the sea lion; otherwise it requires a great deal of effort and cunning to kill a sea lion." The younger Yoálox had heard all this. He very decidedly opposed the proposition /1163/ of his elder brother and angrily replied: "It must never be as you say! It is good for human beings to work and exert themselves. It is very useful that everyone makes his own weapons; he would lose this [this benefit] if we let every man have a harpoon of the kind you propose. There is also some gain when a clumsy, careless hunter breaks his harpoon and forfeits it. May his prey escape if an awkward, bungling man hurls his harpoon badly. Everyone should, after all, make an effort and exert himself!"

The elder Yoálox could not object to these words. This explains why, to this day, the harpoon of a clumsy hunter breaks and is lost if he has not learned to hurl it properly and aim it well, or it remains superficially attached to the back of the sea lion and the animal swims away with it if the hunter has not hurled it powerfully enough. A person who has forfeited his harpoon in this way must simply take the trouble to make a new one.

Later Yoálox-tárnuxípa gave the elder of the two Yoálox other weapons and implements: the firm leather thong made from sea-lion hide, úkela; the sharp knife made from the shell

/1163 cont./

113 of an edible mussel; the strong bone wedge, íla, with a stone as a hammer (p.111); the strong sling, ĭáfina (p. 172); the long snare-rod, akáfnuš (p. 179); and the joined lengths of the snare-line, ŭfka, for catching birds (p. 178), as well as the rest of the implements. He was greatly pleased with all these things, for whenever he used them, success was his. Hence he longed for nothing more than that all these tools should neither break nor wear out, that they should neither slip out of their owner's hand nor become lost in any other way. His purpose was to save people the trouble of having to make all their implements anew.

These fine plans of the elder Yoálox were very definitely opposed by his brother. The younger Yoálox aimed to make people work. The weapons of every stiff and awkward hunter should break and he should lose them so that he would learn to become skillful. All tools should wear out so that everyone would be forced to make new ones. In this way everyone would be busy. The younger Yoálox followed this plan. Thus to this day no one is spared the trouble of putting effort and attention into all his implements, of always making new ones, and of handling them carefully. He will always be dependent on his tools in his daily occupations; he can under no circumstances do without them.

E. The Invention of the Arrowhead

It is told: Both Yoálox were very adroit craftsmen. They had, after all, taken long journeys throughout the world and thus had become acquainted with many things. /1164/ They were also the first to come here to the territory of the Yamana. Hence they were obliged to make and design the first weapons and tools in such a way that the true Yamana could use them successfully. Their sister, however, the capable Yoálox-tárnuxĭpa, surpassed her two able brothers in many respects by her clever judgment and far-sighted attitude. She had considerable influence on everyone. She gave instructions to all the other women who willingly yielded to her. The women, in turn, ordered their husbands about in such a way that they complied with their wishes in every respect. The sister of the two Yoálox was really extraordinarily intelligent; she

/1164 cont./

113 surpassed everyone in wise insight, cunning, and talent. Whenever it seemed proper, she would help her two brothers and all the women in their work. At such times they were always very successful and their enterprises brought rich gains.

One day the two Yoálox brothers were working on a yékuš. Although they were skillful craftsmen and had worked hard all day, the arrowhead did not seem to come out right. They had given it sharp edges that would cut well, but they were unable to fasten the point securely to the shaft. Securing the point to the shaft was obviously most important, for only then would the arrowhead be at all useful. The two Yoálox had rounded the lower edge of the arrowhead; therefore, the cords fastening it could not be secured properly and the arrowhead did not sit firmly in the narrow notch at the upper end of the shaft. Such an arrowhead was useless. They worked hard and tried over and over again, this way and that, to see how the arrowhead could be securely inserted in the shaft. They had already made quite a number of points and tried them out, but they were not satisfied with any of them, for each one fell out very easily because it was rounded. Dissatisfied, they gathered together the many arrowheads in a small basket and hung it up in their hut.

One day the two Yoálox had again gone hunting to get meat for food. When they were far from their hut, Yoálox-tárnuxīpa took down the little basket with the many arrowheads. It had not escaped her notice that her two brothers had toiled without any success whatever. She emptied the basket on the ground in front of her and picked up one arrowhead after another, working them over and perfecting them so that they could be used. At the bottom she fashioned a piece shaped like a stopper by making shallow notches on either side so that the lashing could not slide off. She corrected each of the arrowheads in this way, put them all back in the little basket, and hung it up again in the same place. In the evening her two brothers returned home, but she did not tell them that she had perfected the many arrowheads.

/1165/ Depressed and ill-humored the two Yoálox wanted to resume their work on the arrowheads the next day and see whether they could be securely lashed to the shaft and used. They

/1165 cont./

•773 took down the little basket and emptied the many arrowheads on the ground in front of them. Completely surprised, they realized that the arrowheads had been worked over, for each one had a clearly defined stopper-shaped base. With amazement they looked at this change. Immediately they experimented with them; they placed an arrowhead in the notch on the upper end of the shaft and lashed the base with fine tendons. The point now actually fitted securely on the shaft and did not fall out. Now the arrow was serviceable. Then the elder Yoŝlox cried: "Who do you suppose worked over these arrowheads and made them serviceable?" The younger Yoŝlox replied: "Only our sister could have done that; after all, she is much more capable and skillful than we are. She succeeds in everything. She is the only one who could have improved these arrowheads and made them useful!" The elder Yoŝlox agreed with his brother: "Certainly, it is as you say, our sister surpasses us in cleverness and skill. From now on we shall give her all our tools so that she will help us [in making and perfecting them]!" For a long time the two Yoŝlox were very pleased over these effective arrowheads.

The Invention of the Harpoon Point

It is told: A short time after that the two Yaŝlox began long harpoon points from the bones of the whale. The bones of the whale are longer and harder than those of other marine animals, and so they penetrate deeper and more effectively into their prey. They put such a point on a long shaft and lashed it with a narrow leather band. They immediately went hunting in order to try out the weapon.

When a sea lion came near, they hurled this harpoon at it, but the animal was not killed, only superficially wounded. It quickly escaped by diving under the water, then soon came up again and disappeared far from shore. The superficial wound had not hurt it in the least. The two Yoŝlox did not succeed in killing a single sea lion with their harpoon. Several times they went out to hunt, but every animal hit by their harpoon was only slightly wounded and escaped without any trouble. Each time the two Yoŝlox returned home disappointed and without booty. They had

/1165 cont./

113 already lost ever so many harpoons, for if a sea lion was hit the harpoon remained loosely lodged near the surface of its body and it would swim away with it. On such hunts all their efforts remained unsuccessful; the harpoons proved unsuitable.

Annoyed at their many unsuccessful efforts, /1166/ the two Yo'lox one day decided to question their elder sister. They said to her: "Why do you suppose it is that our harpoon hits the sea lion and the point enters its body, but it wounds the animal only slightly? We cannot succeed in killing it and so we can never lay hands on it. For many days now we have returned home without booty." The intelligent, understanding Yo'lox-tĭrnuxĭpa replied: "Bring me one of your harpoon points, I should like to examine it carefully." They immediately fetched a bone point and showed it to her. She took it and examined it carefully. This piece tapered to a fine point and had a suitable base at the other end for the lashing, just like the arrowhead that Yo'lox-tĭrnuxĭpa had improved. Hence the harpoon point was securely held in the notch at the end of the upper shaft and firmly lashed. The two sides of the long bone point, however, were smooth from top to bottom. Then Yo'lox-tĭrnuxĭpa cut a large, pointed tooth in one side. When she succeeded in doing that, she looked at the bone point with the utmost satisfaction. Immediately she untied her modesty-apron, mă'lakĭna (p. 60), and cut off a long strip of leather. She knotted one end of this around the base of the point, then ran the leather strip along the side of the shaft, and tied it securely below, rolling up the long, free part (Fig. 38). Then she showed her brothers how to handle this harpoon: the right hand grasps the harpoon in approximately the center of the shaft and the left hand holds the long, free part of the leather strip loosely. Yo'lox-tĭrnuxĭpa demonstrated to her brothers how to grasp this harpoon. Then she said to them: "Now try it!"

The two Yo'lox thanked their sister because she had improved their harpoon and showed them how to use it. They left the hut immediately; they wanted to experiment with the harpoon and hunt sea lions. Scarcely had they reached the shore when a mighty animal swam by. The younger Yo'lox grasped the harpoon exactly as his sister had shown him; when he hurled it, he held the free end of the thong securely in his left hand. Sure enough, the bone

/1166 cont./

113 harpoon point penetrated deeply into the back of the sea lion. Instantly it escaped under the surface of the water. It did not go far, however, for the long strap soon became taut and the tooth in the harpoon point tore the wound deeper the harder the sea lion tugged. The shaft had already become detached from the point, but the lower end of it was still held by the leather thong and floated on the surface of the water. The shaft showed Yoálox where the sea lion was. The animal was no longer tugging so hard on the long line, for the deep wound hurt very much and each tug was painful. Slowly the younger Yoálox now drew in line; as it became shorter, the sea lion was drawn nearer to the shore (85). When it was finally lying on land, /1167/ the

85. This gives a detailed account of how this large harpoon works and assures success (p. 161). It shows the amazing skill and cleverness of these Fuegian inventors.

elder Yoálox killed it with a club. With this harpoon they had thus safely and easily caught the first sea lion, which gave them a great deal of fat.

The two Yoálox were almost beside themselves with satisfaction at this success. They spent the whole day hunting sea lions. They collected an undreamed-of amount of booty. It was not until evening that they decided to return to their hut. This time they puffed and panted under the weight of the great amount of meat. Overjoyed, they told their sister about their great success and explained how they had quickly caught each animal and why none had escaped this time.

After that the two Yoálox abandoned all their crafts, for it gave them untold joy to hunt the sea lion with this harpoon. Later they taught all the men how to use the great harpoon. Since then the Yamana use this harpoon with the long leather thong whenever they go to hunt sea lions.

/1167 cont./

η. How Blubber Was Obtained

• 113 The Yamana tell: The elder Yoálox loved the fat of sea lion and the blubber of whale; they tasted very good to him and he was mad about them. He was anxiously concerned about always having an ample supply of blubber on hand. One day he considered a plan whereby all the water in all the channels, brooks, and lagoons should be transformed into whale blubber and seal fat. This huge mass was to keep uniformly fresh, never spoil or lose its good flavor, and never be used up. He said to himself: "If this could be arranged, people would always have fresh blubber on hand, they could save themselves dangerous journeys and laborious hunts, they would never have to do without this tasty morsel, and life would be much more pleasant!"

He then proposed these plans to his younger brother and tried to win him over, but the latter would not hear of it and refused his brother, saying: "It must never be as you plan. People must constantly be forced to work. Therefore men should go out to hunt. When they have killed whales and seals, the women will prepare the fat; then everybody will partake abundantly of the tasty blubber which will be particularly good after their tiring work. Human beings should not enjoy things without preliminary effort!"

Thus once again the elder Yoálox was obliged to abandon his plan and yield to the decision of his younger brother. Soon afterward the elder Yoálox took a long journey on foot; he grew very hungry and tired. He sat down on a stone and wanted to rest, /1168/ but the earth was swampy and water soon oozed up around his feet. Since he was hungry, the thought occurred to him: "How agreeable it would be if all the water that rises up wherever I or some other person sets foot should immediately turn to blubber. Then everyone would have plenty with which to appease his hunger!" This wish, too, he soon proposed to his younger brother. The latter, however, was annoyed and replied: "It must never be that way! May people suffer hunger if they do not work!" This again made the elder Yoálox sad, and he never realized his wish. This is the reason why, from that time on, hunting for the men and concern by all people about sustenance have been

/1168 cont./

•713 inescapable laws. The attitude of the younger Yoálox on numerous occasions clearly shows that younger children are often wiser and more understanding, but also more obstinate, than their older brothers and sisters.

θ. The Beginning of Libido sexualis

The men tell among themselves: One day the younger Yoálox felt great lust, and he tried all kinds of ways of satisfying it. For this purpose he fashioned a human body. In it he put eye sockets and immisit membrum suum magnum /inserted his large member/, but he was not satisfied. Then he made two openings below the nose, but here, too, he felt no pleasure. Then he opened the ear cavities on either side, but he did not find satisfaction in these places. Thereupon he opened a wide mouth, but here, too, he found no satisfaction. He tried to satisfy his lust in other places, namely, the armpits, the breasts, the navel, but he could not find pleasure anywhere. Finally he made an opening between the legs, and here at last he obtained full satisfaction.

Later he taught this to the men. Since then they, too, have known how to satisfy their lust.

ι. The Beginning of Body Painting

It is told: In the beginning the two Yoálox lived only with their sister; neither of them had a wife. After a time they no longer liked being alone all day and sleeping alone at night. Finally they confessed to Yoálox-tárnuxipa: "As you can see, we are all alone here. We do not like living this way any longer. Help us to get a wife soon!" Yoálox-tárnuxipa agreed and promised to help her two brothers.

Then these three considered what they could do. The two brothers had excellent weapons and were very skilled. Hence they always brought home ample booty from hunting /1169/ and lived on the fat of the land. They had large supplies of meat in

/1169 cont./

• 113 their hut. By contrast, Hulušénuwa (86) was always hard pressed;

86. This is the smaller species of the two Fuegian wrens, Troglodytes hornensis.

he always lacked meat because he had a great many wives. His wives had a great desire to visit the two Yoálox and to gaze at them. Once when Hulušénuwa was again out of meat, he himself decked out each of his wives in extraordinarily fine fashion. He ordered each of them to decorate themselves still more and paint themselves with colors. Then he sent them one after another to the two Yoálox to obtain meat from them. Each of his wives had decorated herself with colors and designs according to her own taste. They were all different and all very beautiful.

This introduced the custom of painting one's face and entire body; people make themselves beautiful in this way and take pleasure in doing so. Since the time when the small Hulušénuwa requested his many wives to decorate themselves with colored designs, the Yamana realize that they are obliged to paint themselves on certain occasions (87). Thus it has become

87. In the discussion which ensued, the following special occasions were mentioned: visits, the menarche, mourning and funeral rites, the youth initiation, and the Kina festival.

an unavoidable custom. The wives of Hulušénuwa have to this day retained the beautiful body painting that they applied at that time. Whenever the men perform the kína, they imitate the colors and designs in the fur and feathers of many animals by painting their own bodies in various ways (88).

88. One must realize, and this was specifically called to my attention in this connection, that all those wives, as well as the two Yoalox, are not considered true human beings. The former changed themselves into birds; the latter, along

/1169 cont./

•773 with their sister, rose up to heaven where one can see them to this day as stars.

K. The Onset of the First Menstruation

773 841 Without delay (89) little Hulušéuwa first sent his wife

89. For clearer organization, I have made a special story of this on my own initiative. My informants told the whole story without this break.

Tákaŭakīpa (90) to the Yoálox. She entered the hut of the two

90. This is the loud seagull, Larus belcheri.

Yoálox and introduced herself. The two brothers looked closely at this woman for a long time. Then they said to their sister: "Give this woman lots of meat!" Yoálox-tárnuxīpa gave Tákaŭakīpa much meat and she was dismissed. The two brothers had arranged with their sister that they would look over every woman carefully to see whether she was beautiful and whether they liked her. Every woman that did not please them was to be given much meat by their sister and dismissed.

After a while Laŭixkīpa arrived. The two Yoálox looked at her, but she did not please them. Yoálox-tárnuxīpa gave her much /1170/ meat and she was dismissed. Then little Hulušéuwa sent all the rest of his wives, one after the other: ĭčkuš, kímoa, Ifírux, wāsénim, lčkakuta, wípatux, malčpa, Ifínes, wémarčkipa, kiwígu, dčtčhírux, čokda (91), and many others, for he had

91. Only a few names are mentioned here in abbreviated form, without the "kipa" designating gender and without the more specific zoological designation, thus avoiding superfluous repetition.

many wives. No matter how beautiful they all were, one as

/1170 cont./

773
841

much as the other, the two Yoálox did not care particularly for any of them. Their sister gave each of these women much meat and they hurried back to their hut. In this way the many wives of little Hulušémuwa presented themselves to the two Yoálox, one after the other. The brothers carefully looked at each woman, but they did not like any of them. There were constantly more women coming. Each one entered the hut of the Yoálox alone, but each of them soon was given a large portion of meat and was in this way dismissed.

Finally Mákuxípa arrived as the last and the most beautiful wife of little Hulušémuwa. When she entered the hut of the two Yoálox she pleased them beyond measure and they could not take their eyes off her. They whispered to their sister: "Do not give this woman any meat! We want to keep her here in our hut and not let her go back to her husband. We like this beautiful woman very much indeed!" Yoálox-tárnuxípa said to Mákuxípa: "Just sit down here beside my brothers, they both like you very much!" So Mákuxípa sat down without embarrassment, as Yoálox-tárnuxípa had told her to, on the pallet of the two Yoálox. The latter soon began to fondle the beautiful woman. Later they persuaded Mákuxípa to stay with them in the hut. The two Yoálox both frankly confessed to her how much they were in love with her. She liked that very much and said: "Very well, I shall stay with you!" Then the two Yoálox were extremely pleased that this beautiful woman wanted to stay with them. They immediately began satisfying their lust. They thanked their sister especially, because she had helped keep this beautiful woman here.

In his hut little Hulušémuwa waited for his Mákuxípa, but she did not return home. After a long time he finally learned that the two Yoálox were keeping his wife with them in order to amuse themselves with her. This made him sad beyond measure and he said sorrowfully: "Woe is me! They have persuaded the most beautiful of my wives and stolen her from me. They sent home all the rest who are less beautiful, after giving them much meat. How I miss my beautiful Mákuxípa!" Little Hulušémuwa constantly lamented in this fashion.

/1170 cont./

773
841

The two Yoálox continued to amuse themselves with Mákuxīpa. She, too, liked it very much in the hut of the two brothers. They took turns sleeping with her and were very glad that they no longer had to do without that (92).

92. This means frequent and free sexual intercourse for which they hitherto had had no opportunity. Thus their relationship to the woman is not to be interpreted as polyandry.

/1171/ One day, early in the morning, the elder Yoálox went to the forest to hunt animals and gather wood. His brother stayed behind, stretched out on his pallet, with beautiful Mákuxīpa lying at his side. Because the elder Yoálox was absent, they gave themselves up to their boundless lust. They spent all day on their bed and it did not occur to them to get up. The day passed all too quickly for them, and it was after dark when the elder Yoálox returned. He approached the hut cautiously and unobserved. Then he realized that those two were still caressing each other and rolling around on their bed. This aroused his curiosity. Then he listened closely; he wanted to hear what they were saying to each other. He heard Mákuxīpa whisper to the younger Yoálox: "Membrum tuum mihi summopere placet. Tantum est quantum repleat vaginam meam. Rubrum est sicut máku (93). Frater tuus membrum minutum habet, quod

93. The reference /máku/ is to the scarlet blossom of Embothrium coccineum (Fig. 78 on p. 495).

me non ita irritat. Ecce, multo magis membrum magnum tuum mihi placet quam fratris tui. Tecum tempus diuturnum concumbere malo." /"Your member is very pleasing to me. How much it fills my vagina. It is as red as máku. Your brother has a small member which thus does not arouse me. Indeed, your large member pleases me much more than that of your brother. I would rather have intercourse for a long time with you."/ These words

/1171 cont./

773 841 delighted the younger Yoálox. His older brother who was standing outside the hut listened attentively and understood perfectly what those two were whispering to each other.

After a while he finally entered the hut. He threw down the heavy logs he had brought and immediately sat down beside the fire, for the heavy rain had made him soaking wet. Now the younger Yoálox inconspicuously moved away a bit from Mákuxípa, but both of them were still lying on the pallet. The elder Yoálox had been warming himself by the fire for some time when he finally addressed the woman in a very ill-humored tone: "How can you lie here with my brother from early morning until now!" She answered carelessly: "Well, I liked being with him!" This explanation made him still more ill-humored, and irritated, he said harshly: "I know very well why you liked being with him so much that you lay together the whole day. What was it you just whispered to him?" Embarrassed, Mákuxípa replied: "What could I have whispered to him? We talked about unimportant things." Whereupon the elder Yoálox replied: "In any case you enjoyed yourself immensely with my brother. And I distinctly heard you say to him: 'Membrum tuum mihi summopere placet. Tantum est quantum repleat vaginam meam. Rubrum est sicut máku. Frater tuus membrum minutum habet, quod me non ita irritat. Ecce, multo magis membrum magnum tuum mihi placet quam fratris tui. Tecum tempus diuturnum concumbere malo!' Aren't these the words you just whispered to him! Very well, I'll show you, tamen membrum meum magnum atque tumidum esse /my member may nevertheless be large and tumid/!" He approached the pallet on which she lay and his brother moved far away. He began /1172/ to caress and embrace Mákuxípa. Postea mulieri incubuit et immisit membrum suum in vaginam ejus. Membrum suum ita intumuit, ut laceraret mulieris vaginam. Statim copia sanguinis sat magna effluxit. Yoálox eam interrogavit: "Desiderame utrum membrum meum adhuc succrescat, necne? Satisfacta es?" /"After that, he lay on the woman and inserted his member in her vagina. His member swelled so that it lacerated the woman's vagina. Immediately a great amount of blood flowed out. Yoálox asked her: "Do you still wish that my member would grow? Is it satisfactory?"/ Mákuxípa did not say a word.

/1172 cont./

773
841

So the elder Yoálox got up from the bed and said to her: "Now you are tú-i! Therefore you may now take my younger brother as your husband! Before that I want to give you a few instructions so that not too much blood will flow and you do not become too weak!" Then he gave her all kinds of advice which from then on applied to her and to all women. He emphasized: "You must remain quiet and silent and avoid all chatter. If possible stay in your hut the whole time. Stay away from men, and if you should meet them, give them a wide berth. Refrain from all food and eat only what I permit. Be content with a very small amount of water. Work particularly diligently during this time [your first menstruation], help the other women, fetch a lot of drinking water and firewood for everyone. Faithfully observe each of these admonitions!" The elder Yoálox imposed many other things on Mákuxípa. She adhered to them all strictly. That is why her condition improved; she soon felt relieved, and the flow of blood finally stopped. After a few days she also did not have to renew the facial painting that Yoálox had made for her (94). Meanwhile Yoálox-tárnuxípa sat beside Mákuxípa.

94. These words refer to the special facial painting required during the menarche, which is shown in Fig. 79.

cared for her and instructed her diligently, and was constantly helpful. She gave her other bits of advice which Mákuxípa faithfully followed. Finally Yoálox-tárnuxípa proposed to her brothers: "Let's give a big feast, for this woman is now tú-i!" Her brothers agreed; they provided large quantities of meat and consumed them happily. This was the first tú-kipa tútu (95).

95. The details of this festive occasion were given on p. 573.

841

This is how the first menstruation, which the elder Yoálox brought about for Mákuxípa, took place. Since then it happens to every woman and is repeated at the end of a moon (96). All

96. This expression is merely a designation

/1173 com./

944 that all these rules and recommendations come from the two Yo̱lox and from Yo̱lox-tirnuxipa. One who conscientiously adheres to them will not have any serious trouble during the monthly bleeding and in childbirth.

773 So the story goes. I learned that there was another view about the personality of Mi̱kuxipa. A few people said: She is actually the wife of Kẽtẽla (Polyborus tharus). He lost his wife, according to the account given in a separate story. The many women who presented themselves to the two Yo̱lox actually did not belong to any particular man as his wives; they were unmarried and free. The reason they all came to see the two Yo̱lox was because the latter's sister advised them to; her influence upon all women was great and that is why they all complied with her wish. Her purpose was to help her brothers find a wife. Because they liked Mi̱kuxipa, they kept this beautiful woman for themselves. Kẽtẽla was not considered because his wife had already run away from him earlier and returned to her father's hut. Later when all those women turned themselves into birds, Mi̱kuxipa did the same thing and since then she is called Hulusẽnuwakipa.

/1174/ To explain the name Mi̱kuxipa it should be remembered that the Yamana designate the body color of a child or adult that is most pleasing and beautiful to them by refering to the scarlet mi̱ku blossom (Fig. 78).

A. The First Birth

773 944 The Yamana tell: After that the younger Yo̱lox lived alone with Mi̱kuxipa, for he had become his wife. He slept with her and she became pregnant. Finally she gave birth to a son (98). Yo̱lox was exceedingly pleased. He immediately

98. The particular aim of this story is to show that Yoalox first introduced conception and childbirth in the way that both events have taken place since then. Hence, before that children were not actually "born."

/1174 cont./

773
844

and there is no explanation anywhere of how they came into being. All persons of that first period are simply presented as adults. From then on, however, successive generations originate in the manner peculiar to human beings.

instructed his wife as to how she must conduct herself during the birth and shortly thereafter. To this day all Yamana women follow these directions.

773 That first child was a boy. He cried constantly and loudest of all at night. In fact, he never stopped crying. His father and mother had tried everything to make him stop, but in vain. Yoálox was extremely displeased. It was impossible for the mother to sit beside the child all the time because she had her work to do.

Finally, losing his temper, Yoálox ran out of the hut and left the boy alone. He built another hut for himself some distance away. Just as regularly as before, he went hunting and continued working on his weapons, but when he came from the woods or from the shore and approached the hut, he could hear his son screaming from far off. Then when he entered his hut next door, the boy would yell even louder. He continued to yell even when Yoálox made a lot of noise just to make him stop.

Thoroughly annoyed he one day again entered the hut in which his little son lay. With both hands he grasped the child under its armpits, lifted it up, stared sternly into its face, and shouted at it in a loud voice: "Listen now and stop screaming!" At that instant the little boy split in two. Thus Yoálox had two sons, and they did not cry. They were the first human beings (99).

99. These words mean, these two children are the first who came into the world through actual childbirth. In the strict sense, of course, this applies only to the one.

After a while Mikaxáia died. Since the younger Yoálox was constantly busy, he sometimes could not watch his two sons. So he looked around for a woman to take charge of his two boys. He

/1174 cont./

•773 won Čilawčjakipa (she-fox). /1175/ She immediately moved into the hut of Yoŝlox and devoted herself to his two sons. Free of anxiety, Yoŝlox could now undertake even long journeys.

The she-fox named the two boys Šamanŝye. She was very crafty and clever. So she considered a plan to roast the two boys and consume them. At that time Yoŝlox was far away; before he returned she could run away and hide in the forest. So she decided to carry out her plan. She told the two boys: "Go into the forest and gather a lot of dry wood; bring it to the hut, we shall kindle a big fire!" The two boys immediately hastened into the woods. But from the very beginning Čilawčjakipa had treated the two boys very badly and had made them work a great deal, so both of them were very indignant. They wanted to avenge themselves at last. Instead of gathering dry wood, they picked up green, wet wood and carried this to the hut. The she-fox then tried to light a huge fire with it, but she did not succeed. Angrily she scolded the two boys: "You have brought me green and wet wood; you can't kindle a big fire with that!" The next day she again sent the two boys into the woods to gather dry wood, but again they gathered only green, wet wood and dragged it to the hut. They had noticed that the she-fox was planning something bad, but in their distress they did not know what they could do, for their father was far away on the other side of the channel. They had long since grown tired of having to be with the cranky and ill-tempered Čilawčjakipa who pestered them every day with lots of work and besides that sent them into the forest for wood. Purposely they gathered only wet wood. This angered the she-fox each time, and she gave vent to her ill-humor in every conceivable way. The boys had to endure much hardship.

One day Čilawčjakipa lay on her pallet and slept very soundly. As quietly as they could, the two boys started a big fire (100),

100. A signal fire like the one actually used by the Tamana (p.972.) is meant here.

with which they wanted to summon a canoe. Sure enough, a man soon arrived on the beach. Hurriedly the two boys boarded his canoe and asked him to take them to the other shore. He did

/1171 cont./

•773 so and the two boys got out on the opposite shore. They went on in the direction where they thought their father would be. Suddenly and unexpectedly they came to a wide river; they did not know how to cross it for it was very wide. Then they were seized with great fear that the she-fox would come after them. Their father, Tahtog, however, had already seen them hurrying along from afar. He knew that they were now standing perplexed beside the wide river. He quickly made all the water in the river run off and his two sons reached the other shore without effort. They soon came to the spot where he was sitting. He asked them: "Why /1176/ are you following me, what has driven you here?" Amid tears the two sons then told their father how badly they were treated by Ulewhatsiga, how hard they had to work, how they were sent into the forest every day to gather dry wood, and that they had but little to eat. Then they added: "Scarcely had we climbed into the canoe of that man and had just reached the middle of the channel when we looked back. There we saw Ulewhatsiga pounce on the corpse of Wihnuiga and start devouring it! Without doubt she was planning to devour us, too. That is why she sent us into the forest every day where we were supposed to gather much dry wood for a fire in which she wanted to roast us!"

All this made the younger Tahtog very angry. Full of rage, he quickly made a yehat. He hurled it at Ulewhatsiga and she instantly fell dead. From then on the two boys stayed with their father; meanwhile they had grown up (101).

> 101. In this story there are several details which are repeated in the story the Seih'tsem tell about the two nephews of Kwanyip (Vol. I, 888).

Since that time, however, one sometimes sees a fox dig up human corpses and gnaw at them (102). It is a disgusting animal.

> 102. It has been repeatedly pointed out that the Tanana have a definite abhorrence of the fox's habit of gnawing at human corpses. It is also clearly expressed in this story.

/1178.com./

A- The Sister of the Snakes Falls in Love

•78 The story goes. The two Nāga brothers had two young sisters, but no one remembers their names. These girls took particular pleasure in bathing and playing in the waves. They spent almost every day happily in the water.

One day these girls approached a large sea lion. They were not in the least frightened by it. In fact, from the start it acted noticeably amorous and offered to play with them. The two sisters were very willing. They amused themselves for a long time, and finally the elder one became completely enamored of the sea lion. Inconspicuously the two edged away so that the younger sister should not observe their play. Then they caressed each other and played together for a long time under the surface of the water.

The two sisters bathed regularly at the same place. Each time they entered the water the big sea lion also arrived. Swimming under the surface it came close to the elder sister. This greatly pleased her because she had fallen very much in love with the sea lion. The two inconspicuously edged away from the other girl. They did not want her to notice how they gave themselves up to their pleasure.

They had been meeting for a long time for their love-making, when one day the younger sister asked her elder sister, "What in the world is that big black thing that you are so anxiously covering with your body? /1177/ I see it between your legs. What is it?" The elder sister replied evasively: "What ideas you have! Whatever it is you mean can only be the shadow of my body. There is nothing else!" The younger sister was not content with this reply and probed further: "It doesn't make sense to me that that black thing is supposed to be your shadow. A shadow is never so black. It has to be something else!" Perturbed, the elder sister replied: "I can't understand what you are imagining. If I assure you that it is my shadow, why won't you believe me?" But the younger sister would not be dissuaded and replied, "It is impossible that that black thing is your shadow! It would be very strange indeed if your shadow always appeared in the water and only under your body." Then the elder sister repeated emphatically: "I mean my words. There is nothing here but my shadow."

/117 cont./

#13 The younger sister realized that further discussion would not lead anywhere, so she simply added: "I cannot believe that that black thing is the shadow of your body, no matter how often you tell me it is!" In spite of all this the two girls continued to go bathing almost every day and each time the elder sister met the little one-lion man.

The elder sister had now been pregnant for a long time. When her condition was far advanced, she finally discussed with the one lion how she should manage. The one lion bathwith put the pregnant woman on his back and swam to his cave. There he made her a soft bed and brought a great deal of food. Soon she gave birth to a little boy.

The one lion was greatly pleased with his son, but after a few days he was seized with great fear. He said to the girl: "If your brothers, the Tahgee find out about our life together, when they learn that you have given birth to a boy and are staying in my cave, they will become extremely angry and will blame the elder! Then they will lie in wait for me and murder me. It seems to me that it would be best for you to return to your brothers. Tell them how much we like each other, tell them how well we get along and how lovely our little son is. Ask them if I may live with them." The girl replied: "Very well, I shall go back to the hut of my brothers and tell them everything. I shall ask them if you may live with them." She immediately prepared to depart. The one lion again took her on his back and they made good progress.

The two Tahgee had long since had a strong premonition of what had happened and what their sister was doing. When the one lion was near enough to the hut of the Tahgee, he sent his wife on alone. He himself remained behind with the little boy. The woman quickly reached the hut of her two brothers and they happened to be at home. She greeted and said without embarrassment: "Here are you, my brothers! My husband, the great one lion, wants me to inquire whether he /117b/ may come here and live with you. He would like to be near you and I, too, would like it very much. But he would only come if you promise not to kill him! He is willing to help you in hunting and in all your work, and he will be a good brother-in-law to you!" Agreeing, the two Tahgee replied: "Bring the one lion to your husband.

L. Gontade--1146 E-6 (1910-1954) 1937 5108 Tahgan 5108

/113 cont./

113 Well then, he may come, we shall take him into our hut. We promise not to do him any harm; if he behaves well, we shall not kill him."

The woman was pleased that they gave their consent. She immediately hurried back to the place where she had left her husband with the little boy. When she reached the sea lion, she joyfully told him: "I talked to my brothers. They want me to tell you that since you are now my husband you may come and live with them. They will not do you any harm or kill you as long as you behave well." These words reassured the sea lion, and with his wife and child he immediately set out for the hut of the Tahltan. The woman, carrying the child on her back, entered first. The sea lion also tried to enter, but he was too enormous and bulky to pass through the narrow entrance. The two Tahltan first had to take a few poles out of the hut framework at the entrance, and then at last the sea lion squeezed inside. He was extraordinarily large. The two Tahltan assigned to him and his wife the place opposite the entrance as their sleeping place. These two then made themselves at home there as though they were in their own hut.

Early the next day the sea lion got up and hurried out to sea to fish. Sure enough, he soon brought back large fish, mussels, and seals in great quantities. This was plenty for his wife and for his two brothers-in-law. Now they never had a shortage of anything, for on his own initiative the sea lion willingly set out to sea again and again and dragged back great quantities of meat.

One day the Tahltan brothers sent the two women who were living in their hut, the wife of the sea lion and tekwuzha, far away (103). Only the two Tahltan and the sea lion stayed behind.

103. Chronologically, this incident would have to come before the story told on p. 1144.

Before the two women left the hut, the wife of the sea lion took particularly fond farewell. As she did so, the sea lion whispered to her: "In case you should hear me roaring loudly and painfully, come back quickly. It could be that your brothers intend to kill me. Then I would need your help. So come back quickly if I

/1178 cont./

113 roar loudly!" She assured her husband: "I shall pay careful attention! However, I am sure my brothers will not do you any harm."

For their part the two Yo'lox had secretly told Ma'kuxi'pa: /1179/ "When you have gone far away from here with our sister and you then hear the sea lion roaring loudly and painfully, reassure her and say to her: 'It seems that the three men in our hut are amusing themselves very much with games and pranks; they must be extremely merry and happy, that is why the sea lion is roaring so loud out of sheer exuberance!' In any case you must keep our sister there by all means and not let her come running back here to the hut. We are planning to murder the sea lion as soon as possible. That is why we are sending you two far away." Ma'kuxi'pa understood all this very well. So the two women left the hut and set out for the distant point where they were to accomplish their errand.

Soon afterward, the two Yo'lox resumed their daily work. They sat down in front of the hut and readied their big harpoons. The sea lion, too, left the hut to go fishing. He hurried down to the beach. It was a beautiful day and the sun was very hot. Soon the sea lion became tired and sleepy. He stretched out on a big stone on the shore and fell into a deep sleep. At once he began to snore and gradually his snoring became so loud that the two Yo'lox heard it, for they were sitting in front of their hut. Immediately one of the brothers encouraged the other: "Now is the time to kill the sea lion. He is surely sound asleep for he is snoring mightily. Let's attack him now without delay! Besides, we are out of blubber for greasing the big harpoon. We have always used the fat of snails, but seal blubber is much better. That sea lion is unusually fat, he will give considerable blubber and meat. It will certainly pay to attack him!" The other brother was very much in favor of this plan. Quickly they went back into the hut; they wanted to consult their mother as to whether they should kill the sea lion. They said to her: "Mother, we are tired of oiling our harpoons with the fat of snails. It seems to us much better to kill that fat sea lion and remove the abundant blubber he has; we could oil our harpoons with it from now on!" This proposal did not suit the mother at all, and she complained loudly:

/1179 cont./

•773 "Alas, what you plan to do does not please me. The sea lion always brought me many fish, and big ones of the kind I like best. If you murder him, there will be no one to supply me with many tasty fish. Besides, this sea lion is really good and willing to help!" The two Yoálox became angry at their mother's words and replied: "Certainly, what you say is true, this sea lion is really good and willing to help, but after all he is only an animal and not a human being like us. If we murder him, we shall have his abundant meat and fat. What a huge amount it would be! You, too, shall eat a great deal of it, for his meat is tastier and more succulent than that of fish and mussels. You will surely like the taste of it. We shall /1180/ let you have plenty so that for a long time you will be well provided for." The mother finally gave in and said: "Very well! Do as you like; murder the sea lion, I shall not prevent it any longer."

Then the two Yoálox quickly fixed their harpoon shafts and fastened the sharp bone points to them with the long line (Fig. 35). Cautiously and silently they crept up to the sea lion who was still sleeping soundly and snoring mightily. Then they lifted their harpoons high and took aim, hurling them with all their might. They did this so skillfully that the weapons penetrated far into the huge body of the sea lion and wounded him almost to the heart. The sea lion woke up in pain and knew he was badly wounded and near death. Then, with all his remaining strength, he gave a loud roar, full of pain, just as he roars today when he collapses, mortally wounded. He roared so loudly and so long that the two women far away could hear him distinctly. "Alas," the wife of the sea lion lamented to Mákuxipa, "do you hear how loudly and pitifully my husband is roaring? He is surely calling me to help him, for the two Yoálox are now murdering him. I shall quickly run to the hut and see if he needs me!" Mákuxipa tried to hold her back and to reason with her: "How can you think such things? The two Yoálox are surely playing with the sea lion; all three of them are surely happy and in high spirits, that is why the sea lion is laughing so loudly. Don't worry and just stay here with me, later we'll go back to the hut together." But the wife of the sea lion would not go a step farther; instead she kept urging that they go home and the other one realized that she could not hold her back.

/1180 cont./

•773 So the two women changed their course and turned toward the hut. On the way Mákuxipa kept trying to hold back the other woman.

While the two women were covering the long distance home, the sea lion died there on the stone where the two Yoálox had mortally wounded him with their large harpoon. They immediately began cutting up the huge animal and laid a few pieces on a fire out there in order to roast them. Later they sat down and consumed these pieces and found them superb. They dragged other large pieces to the hut and put them on the fire there in order to roast them. They wanted to eat again soon, for this roasted meat tasted very good to them.

When they set out to kill the mighty animal, the two Yoálox had left its little son alone in the hut. As soon as the boy realized that he was alone in the hut he crept out; he sat down on the sand beside the hut and began to play. The two Yoálox now saw him. One of them immediately brought the boy some meat and he ate it with great relish, for this roast was perfectly fresh meat. Scarcely had he consumed the big piece when he demanded a second. Then the Yoálox gave him a piece of roasted fat and that, too, tasted very good to him.

/1181/ At that moment the two women returned. They first came across the boy who was sitting on the sand near the hut and comfortably eating a piece of perfectly fresh meat. When his mother saw the fresh meat in his hands, a dreadful foreboding made her tremble; she suddenly realized that the boy was eating *the meat of his own father! She collapsed, grief-stricken.* Soon she was seized with a terrible rage. She took a large sea urchin out of the little basket she was carrying and threw it at the head of the boy with all her might. The boy immediately turned into a fish, but the barbs of the sea urchin clung to his head. That is [825] the sína (104).

104. A porcupine fish common in those waters. The Yamaña do not eat it "because it was formerly a boy."

Full of sorrow and distress the wife of the sea lion entered the hut. She became terribly alarmed when she saw the many

/1181 cont./

773 pieces of meat hanging on short sticks to roast near the fire. All around the fire on the ground lay other parts of the dismembered sea lion, all cut up for roasting: the head, the flippers, the abdominal parts, the sides, the back. She gazed in horror on the dismembered body of her husband. She was overcome with boundless sorrow; in her despair she sat down and wept bitterly. No one spoke a word to her. Her two brothers, the Yo̲ólox, remained outwardly quite calm and unobtrusive; they gave no sign that anything unusual had happened. They kept on cutting up the meat and watched the roast near the fire. Mā́kuxīpa also remained very quiet.

Finally after some time the two Yo̲ólox asked their sister: "Where is your little son? He was sitting outside in front of the door. Why doesn't he come in?" Excited and sad at the same time the woman replied: "When I came back I saw the little one sitting outside in front of the hut. To my horror I realized that he was eating the meat of his own father. Then I was seized with anger and lost control of myself. I took a sea urchin out of my little basket and hurled it at the boy's head; then he went into the water."

When the two Yo̲ólox learned what had happened to the boy, they were very angry at their sister. Infuriated, they seized the pieces of meat of the sea lion which were lying all around the fire on the hearth. First they took the front part of the head with the snout and threw it at their sister's feet; mockingly they cried: "Here you have the mouth which spoke to you of love and covered you with kisses!" Then they seized the flippers, tossed them at their sister, and said insolently: "Take these flippers which embraced you and touched you lustfully." Then they threw the back at her feet and cried angrily: "Here you have the back, too, on which you sat and on which the sea lion carried you to his cave." /1182/ Finally the two Yo̲ólox seized the large abdominal part of the sea lion, hurled it on the ground in front of their sister, and cried scornfully: "Now you shall also have the part with which the sea lion aroused and satisfied your lust!" The woman was speechless and beside herself with horror. She did not even dare look at the pieces of meat, much less touch them.

/1182 cont./

TT3 A long time passed. Every day this woman saw how good the fresh roast of the sea lion tasted to her brothers and Mamaipa. Finally she, too, timidly reached for a little piece and tasted it. The meat tasted very good to her. Soon she helped herself to larger pieces. Gradually she grew calmer over her loss and little by little forgot her husband, the great sea lion. As time went on she ate the meat and fat of the sea lion with as much relish as her two brothers did.

V. Dying Is Introduced

TT3 N1 It is told: The mother of the two Yoálox finally grew old and feeble; from day to day her strength failed. Weak and tired, she remained in bed; finally she was unable to move. Since she had lost all her strength, the two Yoálox carried her outside the hut and laid her in a favorable place in the grass where the warm sun could shine on her.

The elder Yoálox sat beside his mother and looked at her steadily. Although he did not take his eyes off her, she did not utter a sound. It made him unspeakably sad to see his mother lying there completely motionless, but he did not disturb her profound sleep and confidently hoped that she would soon get up again.

Since the elder Yoálox did not take his fixed gaze from his sleeping mother for a long time, but kept looking at her intently, she finally began slowly to move again. Then she opened her eyes and moved slightly, and sleep departed from her. At first she moved scarcely at all, for she seemed to be recovering only very gradually and hardly perceptibly from the utter exhaustion of her infirmity. This was enough, however, for the elder Yoálox, and he became wild with joy. Quickly he ran into the hut; he wanted to tell his younger brother and said to him: "Listen and rejoice, our mother has awakened from her deep sleep. She began to move very slowly. I confidently hope that she will soon get up again!" These words annoyed the younger Yoálox very much and he opposed his brother, instantly replying: "This must not be! Our mother is now sleeping, for she is old

/1182 cont./

and quite feeble. Let her now sleep forever!" Whereupon this actually happened. Soon the mother hardly stirred and she did not get up again. When the elder Yoálox /1183/ again left the hut and reached the place where his mother was, he looked at her carefully. She lay there completely motionless. Again he fixed his gaze upon her for a long time, just as he had before, but this time she did not move. She lay there without stirring and without moving. Now she was truly dead.

This was the first death. Since then all human beings must die (105), for that is the way the younger Yoálox wanted it (106).

105. It is noteworthy that there are many points of agreement in this matter between the Selk'nam and our Yamana. Among the former it is the elder brother who was prevented by his younger brother from arising from his sleep of old age. This introduced dying in general (Vol. I, 588).

In Vol. I, 589, footnote 28, I pointed out that the Selk'nam like to use the expression "elder Kwanyip," instead of the real name. The Yamana have no real name for the "elder Yoalox."

106. As this story came to an end, there was much bitterness and grief written on the faces of the many people present at the thought that everyone sooner or later will die and will be unable to escape death. Without a word, they all left and silently crept back to their own huts. Every Yamana is at times very much depressed at the thought of dying.

On August 12, 1923, old Maŝemikens and his wife, both of whom came from the west, gave me a somewhat different version of this myth. He told the following story.

The two Yoálox were men of superior intelligence. When their mother had reached a great age, she finally lost all her strength. So she stayed in bed and was overcome by a very deep

/1183 cont./

773 761 sleep. After that she no longer moved. The two Yoŋlox wept bitterly, for they had lost their mother and were now left alone. They carried their mother out and buried her. The younger Yoŋlox, however, had little love for his mother; he did not weep nearly as much or as loudly as his elder brother. Their mother had been buried for some time when one day they heard her voice outside near the hut. Suddenly the elder Yoŋlox ceased his weeping and said: "I shall not weep any longer, for I hear the voice of my mother!" He hastened out of the hut and hoped to see his mother there. The younger Yoŋlox remained in the hut and furiously yelled at his mother: "How can you come back here? Go away at once and disappear from here forever!" Then the mother slowly withdrew and has never returned. The younger Yoŋlox simply said, as though he were displeased with himself: "Why did we not immediately (107) tell our mother that she must

107. These words mean: why did we not at the proper moment beforehand prevent our mother from rising up out of her death-sleep.

not come back!" Truly, from then on she remained away forever.

ξ. The Yoalox Go Away

The Yamana say: "The two Yoŋlox brothers gave proper names to all objects and places, all plants and animals. They remained here on earth for a long time. When they grew old, they ascended to the canopy of heaven with Yoŋlox-tirmuxipa and their other sisters. They are still there as stars."

/1184/ This concludes the stories about the Yoŋlox family which is associated with the Yamana. All the men and women are, on the whole, proud of the Yoŋlox brothers and sisters, for they are regarded as the best and the most capable members of the tribe. The men, above all, appreciate the two Yoŋlox brothers as the most skillful huntsmen, the best craftsmen, the most gifted persons. These heroes are not worshipped in any way

/1184 cont./

113 among the Yamana, despite all the admiration with which men and women speak of the two brothers and their elder sister.

113 821 Two stars of the first magnitude are pointed out as the Yoŕlox brothers, namely, Sirius in the Greater Dog and Procyon in the Lesser Dog. The stars of secondary magnitude close to Sirius are the other members of the Yoŕlox family, all of whom ascended to the canopy of heaven back in those days. BD:12 gives only iūā́lux, "the name of a bright star" /cited in English/, and iūā́lux-dīranakakī́pa [our tárnuŕpa], "the name of a bright star" /cited in English/.

113 116 From the stories themselves one cannot infer any connection between the Yoŕlox family and Watayinéwa; in fact, the two seem to represent quite clearly and sharply distinct spheres of ideas. Several times I asked the Yamana point-blank whether the Yoŕlox brothers had perhaps been charged by Watayinéwa to provide for the many well-known arrangements, as well as to instruct human beings in the prevailing rules and customs. They all heard this question with obvious astonishment, and from that I concluded that such a connection between the two lines of thought was not exactly familiar. It is true that from an earlier time I knew that the Yoŕlox are introduced to the uwáia in the kíŕxaus (p.767) and to girls on the occasion of their menarche (p.575) as the intermediaries of the prevailing laws and habits of life sent to them by the Supreme Being. They are never mentioned at a funeral rite. In everyday life a person will only now *and then speak of them. For example, it is said that* Yoŕlox *decreed* that berries may not be picked prematurely, but must remain on the stalk until they are ripe (p.327). Accordingly, the intermediary role of the Yoŕlox is not to be interpreted as a special, definite, formal mission for Watayinéwa, such as, for example, Temáukel gave the bringer of blessings, Kenós (Vol. I, 572). The situation among the Yamana is somewhat different. Their way of life was actually decisively influenced by the Yoŕlox, but since, in the final analysis, every law and every custom is derived from Watayinéwa, the activity of the Yoŕlox must also be regarded as his command in the broadest sense of the term. To a certain extent this is directly applicable to the regulations pertaining to girls at the menarche and /1185/ women at childbirth.

/1185 cont./

773 776 This circumstance, however, does not justify the view that there is any close relationship between the Yoŋlox family and Watagiñ̈wa.

I also inquired very definitely as to whether the Yoŋlox took part in the great upheaval in the kïna at Yäjaaïäga. The most experienced old people replied: "By that time the Yoŋlox had surely already left the earth. The Yamana of earlier times never told us that the Yoŋlox participated in that great upheaval." In the myth about the origin of the kïna, also, they are not mentioned; hence there is no justification for connecting the Yoŋlox with the men's secret ceremony. However, as I was assured on one occasion in 1920, Yoŋlox-tëmuxïpa in her day had a great influence on all the women who came from the north to Beagle Channel (p. 1111). The Yoŋlox also are not associated with Lëm and his family. The only connection between the personalities mentioned is that they consecutively occupy a period that is separate from that of human beings (p. 1118), a period that can be justifiably designated as that of the heroes. Before the close of this period the younger Yoŋlox introduced actual childbirth (p. 1140), through which he was granted a son. This boy and his brother begin the succession of true human beings, the yïmana. The transition from the age of pre-human beings to that of human beings takes place without any disruption.

A survey of the status and activity of the two Yoŋlox brothers shows that apparently they are endowed with superior power and are the founders of the way of life of the Yamana people. They designed the way of life, arranged it, and guaranteed it for all time by means of rules and regulations of binding legal power. They are responsible for valuable inventions which make life bearable and work easier. Thus they are shown to be culture heroes in that strict sense which Ehrenreich (a):236 applied specifically to conditions among primitive peoples. Very briefly it should be mentioned that there are a surprising number of points of agreement between the Yoŋlox brothers and the Kwïnyip brothers and sisters of whom the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 581) tell. Among the latter, most of the details are much clearer and more definite, and there is more accuracy and completeness in the succession of ideas. There is a striking basic connection

773 776 171

/1165 cont./

113 between the unique and definite ideas that surround the figure of
116 the younger Yoŋlox among the Yamana and the figure of Kwányip
171 with her brothers and sisters among the Selk'nam. Unfortunately, space does not permit detailed comparisons (108).

108. Instead, see the separate essay by Gusinde (ii):687, as well as the general remarks in Ehrenreich (b):44 and Schmidt (d):1216.

In any case, it is noteworthy that in this so-called age of heroes the individual personalities, except for contemporaries, succeed one another at definitely distinguishable intervals and carry on the development. It has already been shown that the same is true among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 606). /Ed., Section b, "Myths and Legends," pp. 1186-1277, is omitted./

/1278/ D. Belief in Spirits and Superstitions

116 A special group of spirits, distinctly separate from the body of ideas surrounding Watayinéwa and from the heroes and mythological figures, lives in the imaginations of our Fuegians. Far from having originated anything important or advantageous for the Yamana, they represent something like apparitions and demons to them. If an individual on his daily wanderings or canoe trips chances to meet these creatures, it usually does not fail to happen that he is at least threatened or endangered, sometimes even badly harmed and murdered. They are generally malevolent spirits, with the single exception of the good-natured Yelálel. To the following description of this group of spirits a section on how the Yamana regard their dreams and on certain superstitious conceptions will be added.

a. The Groups of Spirits

In the preceding sections it has often been shown that the Yamana have the same accurate and comprehensive idea of an

/1281 cont./

(h):204, Hyades (f):588 and (q):259, and so forth.

BD:30 gives the meaning of aāsiū, "persons who go about in the dark of night to kill persons" /cited in English/. To this Hyades (g):39 adds: "Anyone who sees the Ualapatu is lost; one often hears their voice, which resembles that of the seal, but which the Fuegians can immediately distinguish. If they think they hear it, they are frightened out of their wits; they carefully barricade every opening of the hut and, weapon in hand and trembling, they await the morning. Then they immediately leave the campsite and flee to another island. Often the specter follows them even there and harasses them for several nights."

From direct observation Bridges (i):15 tells how the fear of these cannibals affects the Yamana: "The Asasyu, or Apunanusiaula, people of the West, were much feared. During the afternoon (January 1st, 1872) Sinolange's wife was sleeping and awoke hearing a strange noise in the next room, she got up, but could see nothing. She was in a great fright and spread a report that an Asasyu had come into the house" /cited in English/. /1282/ Hyades (f):588 and (q):254 also repeats in detail the view disclosed to him by three Yamana men in Orange Bay on April 3, 1883. According to them, the murderers penetrate Yamana territory with large boats. "If the men are asleep, the inhabitants of the west immediately enter the huts, cut off the heads of everyone, men and children (except perhaps the women), and then eat them, *cooking them over the fire*" /translated from French/.

Moreover, the Yamana tell a separate story about the cannibals, Hamanūlum wēowe, as follows. Once a few people from the central group were camping in Hamanūlum (243). They had

243. A short beach about three kilometers west of present-day Ushuaia.

noticed that many other families had traveled westward. A rumor was going around: "There in Wīman (244) a whale is lying on

244. This is the designation for the entire

186
773

/1282 cont./

western part of Yamana territory, particularly the north shore of Beagle Channel (p. 205 /untranslated/).

the beach." So these people said to themselves: "We shall go there too, in order to get a lot of meat and fat. Only tonight we shall stay here and get a good rest!" The next morning they boarded their canoes. They traveled all day and went farther and farther, even during the night, for they wanted to reach the whale as soon as possible. There were ten families and a yĕkamuĭ. Because they traveled all night -- and these nights were very dark -- they could not see the coastline very clearly. Actually, they rowed past that whale! But they kept right on rowing farther and farther. They had reached Hapananúĭ (245) long before,

245. The designation for the bordering territory of the Halakwulup.

and they finally entered a harbor; they were all very tired. They disembarked in order to find out the actual location of the whale that they had been seeking for so long.

Many people had made a big camp here, but these people were cannibals. It was their custom to devour everyone who came here from the east. To make it easier to murder everyone, they always let only one stranger enter a hut to spend the night, for a family could easily cope with one stranger and quickly murder him.

Now when the ten families disembarked here, they were divided up among ten different huts, and the yĕkamuĭ was sent into another hut. He entered this hut; an old woman was sitting near the fire making a little basket. When the yĕkamuĭ entered, the old woman's husband said to him: "Sit down here near the fire! You are probably very hungry?" Whereupon the yĕkamuĭ replied: "Yes, I am very hungry, for we traveled a long time and looked for the stranded whale without finding it. Where do you suppose the whale is?" Then the husband took a knife and reached for his wife's left breast. It was long and heavy and he cut it off. He immediately hung this piece over the fire to roast it. The /1283/ yĕkamuĭ saw this. Horrified, he said: "Are you

/1283 cont./

186
•713 by any chance roasting this piece for me?" The other man replied: "Yes, that is for you because you are very hungry!" Thereupon the yĕkamuĭ said, quite indignantly: "I shall never eat human flesh! What do you take us for? We came to hunt the whale that we were told was stranded here in the west. We do not eat human flesh!" Saying this, he left the hut and looked around outside until he found a piece of meat. He came back to the hut with it, placed it on the fire, and roasted it. Then he ate it.

There was a basket hanging in this hut, and ten small children were sitting in it. When they saw the yĕkamuĭ, they jumped up happily in their basket and sang: "yĭrum hapĭnana, yĭrum hapĭnana." This meant: "Today we should like to eat this man." But the two adults replied, also very happily: "hamaĭúnna hapĭnana, hamaĭúnna hapĭnana" (246).

246. I was told that the word "hapanana" used here by the Halakwulup has no meaning. The children wanted to say to the old people that they wanted to devour that man this very day, whereas the old people wanted to postpone the feast until the morrow. In order that the stranger should not recognize what they had in mind, they merely emphasized the adverbs "today" and "tomorrow," in combination with a word without any meaning whatever. This was sufficient for the adult as well as the children, and they understood one another. Whether it is related to "hapĭna" in BD:266 I cannot determine. -- The same nonsense word was also the reason they were called "Hapanana-Tamana" and their territory, "Hapanamuĭ" (p.844).

Then the yĕkamuĭ had an inkling of what this was supposed to mean; he recognized the grave danger hanging over himself and his people! Because he was a great yĕkamuĭ, he tossed a piece of fat into the fire, unnoticed. While it was burning, he

/1283 cont./

caused a very deep sleep to come over all the people of this camp. Instantly all these people fell asleep and slept so soundly that no one stirred. The yékamuš now ran quickly to his own people and told them that they all were in grave danger. They all immediately seized their things and stole whatever they could that belonged to these cannibals, loaded everything into their canoes, and rowed off as fast as possible. They hastened toward the east to their homeland.

When they were already far away, a dog began barking loudly. He barked so vigorously that those people woke up again and immediately noticed that they had been robbed of all their things. They could just see the fleeing thieves in the far distance. They quickly made ready to pursue them. When the latter saw that the cannibals were coming after them, they were seized with great fear. They hid in Aššiwaja (247). But the

247. This little inlet lies west of La Romanche Bay, in the northwest branch.

Hapanamůši people noticed this and now hurled a large ťeeši [flint] with the sling. It landed quite near the hiding-place of the fugitives; it burst and gave off a loud report, like thunder. One can hear it to this day in that region (248). /1284/ The

248. This refers to the thunder-like noise or shocks, caused by a collision of icebergs or the breaking off of large ice floes from the glaciers.

fugitives then tossed a large part of the stolen goods out of their canoes to make them lighter and speedier for their escape. They rowed on again, always toward the east, past Lapeńja and Hamanůhum, until they reached Ůlowaja once more, where they had previously had their camp. But the Hapanamůši people continued to hurl large stones after them.

To this day, therefore, one can see large stones lying about in this entire region, especially in Aššiwaja, Lapeńja, and Hamanůhum; the Hapanamůši people hurled all of them at the

/1284 cont./

18 thiever, using their slings. All the things that they had stolen
•113 also turned into stones and to this day lie scattered about where the fugitives tossed them out of their canoes.

A variant of this story is always told to the [illegible] at the end of their initiation. At that time it serves the special purpose of confirming the historical derivation of the Yahgan institution from the west and its transmission to the central region of the Yamana (p. 845).

18 The entire portrayal shows clearly enough that the feared cannibals are merely phantoms created by the Yamana's terror of their western neighbors. Even Bridges (1):15 reached this view: "This Aponaudi people are reputed to be cannibals, but I do not believe the report, which is no like others we have proved to be false" /cited in English/. This much is certain, that the Halakwulup possess actual plank-boats which they have had for several decades (340). It is obvious that these carry a larger

> 340. Besides the plank-boat, the Halakwulup much more often make and use the dugout. Gusinde (v):347 has already pointed out that they had these two articles. Our Yamana first became acquainted with the dugout among the Halakwulup and took it over from them (p. 737). The Yamana did not adopt the plank-boat because their region lacks suitable timber.

number of men than the fragile bark canoes. Bridges (1):16 frankly admits that he finally saw the first vessel of this kind on February 16, 1883, near Stuart Island. It was manned by Halakwulup and is generally called *ihyahly-kwas* (cf. in SD: 288, *ihyahlo*, "a pole, log, trunk of a tree /cited in English/). He adds the following remark to this personal observation: "It is very desirable for the sake of the Fuegian natives to clear up the matter about these *kyoyu-ston* wooden canoes which have been for ages a source of continual fear to the farmers. These *kyoyu-ston* were supposed to be manned by murderers who moved about in them by night in order to kill any natives they

/1286 cont./

TK Yaruros believe in whirlwinds "produced by evil spirits, and to appease them, they throw some limbs and pieces of wood in the water" /translated from Spanish/. This statement probably rests on inaccurate observation. The Indians told me that such a custom was unknown to them.

Laldima, but this is neither a general rule nor a sign of veneration of Laldima or a cult. The mere fact that in their accounts the Yaruros do not even agree about the size and shape of the Laldima clearly shows that the latter are only figments of the imagination, which are more vivid in one person than in another. However, it is said that every shaman has favorable relations with the Laldima, and whenever he starts singing they let him [illegible].

TB TK The Yaruros tell the following Laldima [illegible]. In ancient times some people traveled to Kalawallawoja. There there are many Laldima, but those people did not know it. Soon the Laldima approached and all the people lost their canoes. They barely escaped with their lives to a beach where there was no wood whatever. For a long time they were without fire, and finally they had nothing left to eat. On the other side there was a nice spot with plenty of wood. Then one day a man saw something lying on the surface of the water. It was quite broad and flat. Soon additional objects of this kind gathered. He looked closely and saw that these were only Laldima lying there, one beside the other. Finally there were so many that they extended from one shore to the other. They were lying completely motionless. One of the men said, "If we quickly step over all of them, we shall reach the other shore!" He did this, ran quickly, and reached the opposite beach. Immediately the other two men tried it, as well as the women and children. The latter were too slowly, however, /126?/ and all the Laldima submerged, disappearing into the water, and took all these people with them /[illegible]/. The

126. The same message could be repeated to another [illegible] (p. /[illegible]/).

/1287 cont./
773
776 Leidima seriously harm everyone who happens to come within their reach.

The one man was saved, however, and he was a great yékamuf. He then went to the other people, called them together, and told them everything. He said: "We must now make many yékus and kill these Leidima down there!" Immediately the men undertook this work. Then they attacked the Leidima and killed many of them. They were lying on the bottom. If one comes to this place today, he will see many flat stones on the bottom. They are the Leidima who, holding themselves flat, slowly sank with all those people and still lie in the water at that place.

Moreover, there is the following story about the disobedient girl, tʃ'ikipa wáuwa, for which I am likewise indebted to old Whain (251). A girl who is tʃ'i may not eat berries. Now

251. A shorter version was told to me earlier by a few women and given on page 571.

there was once a tʃ'ikipa who felt a great desire to taste some berries. The girl ran away secretly, sat down in the woods, and ate many amúm. Actually the girl did not eat the berries and swallow them; she merely pressed them against her teeth and squeezed the juice out, throwing the solid parts away (252).

252. In this way the girl believed she could get around the literal meaning of the clear and distinct prohibition.

None of her family knew about it.

Soon afterward the family of the tʃ'ikipa was traveling across a wide inlet when a large Leidima appeared on the surface and threatened them all. In their terror they immediately threw a lot of mussels, birds, and pieces of meat into the water, but the Leidima did not release the canoe. The girl stayed hidden in the bottom of the canoe and did not look up at all. Then the people seized their dog and threw him overboard, but the Leidima

/1987 cont./

773 776 was not satisfied with that either. In their despair the people now took hold of a little girl and tossed her into the water. the girl sank very quickly. Nevertheless, the Leidéna still did not release the canoe. Finally the people seized the big girl, the Ch'ilijo, and shoved her overboard. Leidéna seized her avidly and, quick as lightning, sank down into the depths with her. Soon the entrails [of that girl] rose up and floated on the surface. This made the people very sad. After a time the Leidéna reappeared on the surface and stretched out, making himself very flat. Then the people discovered on his back a great many mounds of such uncommon size that they had never before seen any like them (153). The men reached for them and /1988/ took a

153. It is well known that there are numerous parasites on the back of an old whale, especially Balaena and Cetopsis types. This sentence refers to them.

few off his back. Their shells were particularly sharp. In their rage the men quickly cut up the whale Leidéna with them, tore out his entrails, and dismembered him completely. The Leidéna was dead immediately and sank to the bottom of the sea. At the same instant the canoe began to move, although no one was using the oars, and in no time at all it reached the shore. The people breathed a sigh of relief. But the girl was lost, for she had turned the berries to a Ch'ilijo.

This story, which obviously has a pedagogic aim, is definitely regarded as a myth, whereas, not as an actual experience of a known family. I suspect that Bridges (1)-211 heard something about it and interpreted the genuinely mythical material as an actual occurrence. In any case, it is certain that the Leidéna should be regarded as creations of the imagination and the fear of our exceedingly superstitious Fuegians.

5. The Forest Giants

191 773 776 Inasmuch as the figure of the giant and man-eater Kénch exists among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 888), it is not strange that

/1088 cont./

171 173 176 one Tonowa tell about many giant-like spirits which make the Cape Horn Archipelago unsafe. If one compares the mythological material of the two tribes, it becomes clear that among the Selk'nam it is well organized and richer, but that there are also considerable differences. In any case, a comparison with the Yāmāna is recommended.

176 The giants are called Hāinuē. People say that there are a considerable number scattered through the country. Each one lives only in the forest, and he hides behind thick tree-trunks whenever a human being approaches. Each one also rules over a certain area where he lives all by himself. He regularly covers alone in all directions through it and only very rarely do several Hāinuē gather somewhere. Each one is at least twice as tall as an adult Tonowa. He goes about stark naked, for his body hair is almost as thick as the wool of the guanaco.

If a Tonowa wanders through a lonely forest all by himself or lies down to sleep in it, the Hāinuē approaches him. Out of fear of meeting the giant, people therefore avoid penetrating far into the forest and usually stay close to the edge. Even from there they can hear the crashing of trees and the breaking of twigs wherever he sets foot. They also often hear a moan-like howling of the wind, which announces his approach. Then warned, everyone who can hastens to safety. It is best for the person to get into his canoe and row out to the open channel where the Hāinuē cannot follow him. This giant prefers to surprise men and women who have fallen asleep. /1089/ he robs them and slays them. At night he also comes near the huts that have been erected at the edge of the forest, especially if they shelter only a few people, whom he considers. He watches particularly for lazy women who have come into the forest to gather wood or berries and instead have lain down and gone to sleep. Cautiously and subtly he creeps up to them and makes them fall into a deep sleep. Then he lives with them and satisfies his desire. As for young women, he likes best to drag them to his quarters where they are at his mercy. Every Hāinuē is considered a torturous fellow. He likes to give men a hard blow with his mighty club and leaves them lying in the woods. He likes best of all to chase half-grown children, especially girls. When he

/1181 cont./

7% an attention to his warning, but ran farther and farther away and played, all unsuspecting, with his little harpoon. At twilight a hikuuk surprised the boy and dragged him away with him."

7% There are even two actual myths which are devoted to hikuuk. The first one goes as follows. Once a hikuuk fell in
713 love with Nagurowikkiaiga. She was an extraordinarily beautiful woman, besides being sly and crafty. The hunter would have nothing to do with hikuuk and always repulsed him whenever he approached her and wanted to caress her. At first he was disappointed. Later it vexed him very much to have come so often in vain to the hut of Nagurowikkiaiga. Finally he determined to kill her if she did not give herself to him.

This woman lived all on island. It happened to be winter. When the hikuuk downward to return with many other hikuuk to bring about her ruin, she began thinking seriously of defending herself. Quickly she erected a solid hut and covered it with strong pieces of bark. She left the entrance especially narrow and low. Opposite this entrance she left a little hole. She put brush in front of it and no one would have noticed it. She knew how to make fine, strong crab-forks, ekua (Fig. 63), and she always had a supply of them.

One evening the hikuuk again came to see this woman and brought with him a few companions. She was well prepared, however. When she saw the hikuuk approaching her hut, which was covered with large pieces of bark, she quickly crawled through the narrow rear opening out into the open, and when hikuuk entered, he did not find her. He turned to the entrance and looked out. While he was bending over and trying to squeeze through, the woman raised up slightly in her hiding place and forcefully drove a crab fork into his ear. The hikuuk cried out in pain and quickly squeezed out through the /1191/ narrow entrance. Another hikuuk pushed into the hut. He wanted to see what had happened. But he did not find Nagurowikkiaiga either. When he, too, bent over to crawl out, the woman, with a vigorous stab, drove a ekua into his ear, also. He had to cry out, and instantly he forced himself out through the narrow opening. He dragged the ekua with him, sticking in his ear. The other hikuuk were astonished at this. Still a third ventured into the

/1118 cont./

776 773 but, looked about for the woman, and, like the others, could not find her. He stood at the entrance and from within called to the other Hāmaŋ. "I don't find the woman here!" As he bent over to climb out, Maxunuwā'elakīpa from her hiding place thrust a cook fork into his seat also. He was hardly able to move because of the pain, for the fork had penetrated very deeply. He squeezed out and dragged the fork in his seat with him until another Hāmaŋ pulled it out. He yelled terribly. Then the other Hāmaŋ began to feel uneasy. They talked it over and decided: "It will be best if we all leave as quickly as possible!" They got up and hastened back into the depths of the forest.

The crafty Maxunuwā'elakīpa over there on the island had long beforehand dragged all her things to another place on the beach. When the Hāmaŋ were far enough away, she crept out of her hiding place and hurried down to the shore. It was deep winter and the channel was frozen over. She walked on the thick covering of ice which did not break through. As she moved forward she broke off small pieces of ice behind her. Scarcely had she reached the center of the channel when the Hāmaŋ arrived at the top of the nearby hill. From there they saw Maxunuwā'elakīpa. They were seized with rage and hurried down the hill to the shore; they wanted to murder that miserable woman who had hoodwinked them all. But Maxunuwā'elakīpa called mockingly to the Hāmaŋ: "Come right along, I'll wait for you here!" Then the ones who were first ran out on the ice. They thought it was still that large, continuous piece of hard, immovable ice across which the woman had walked. But because she had cut up the solid sheet of ice into small floes, the first few Hāmaŋ sank immediately, for the small ice floes would not hold those large, heavy creatures. When the other Hāmaŋ on the shore saw the first ones drown, they stayed behind. They hurled threats at Maxunuwā'elakīpa and turned back.

The actual purpose of this myth is to characterize the entire Hāmaŋ tribe as loutish and stupid. That is why they can be easily outwitted and fooled by a Yamana. Moreover, the Hāmaŋ are inferior creatures, as is shown in the following myth.

There was once a blind man who lived with his wife. Each of them slept /1201/ on a separate bed, with the fire between them.

/1293 cont./

776 One night a Hánnuš crept into this hut; he approached the woman
773 and forced her to sleep with him. When the Hánnuš left, the old man heard faint noises and asked his wife: "What is it that is rustling so strangely?" She replied: "Nothing is stirring here; don't become unnecessarily excited!" But after a while the old man realized that his wife was pregnant, and, indeed, she soon gave birth to a son. The blind man did not love this son at all; after all, he knew that it was not his child. And, indeed, this son was an unusual creature. After only a few days he was quite a bit larger, he could walk and climb, and he immediately worked diligently for his parents. He particularly helped the blind man because he thought he was his real father.

When this son went into the forest, he sometimes came across strange signs on the trees. He asked himself: "Where could these signs come from? My blind father surely did not put them there." One day when he again spoke these words, a Hánnuš looked out from behind a tree and said pleasantly: "I am the one who made these signs!" The little boy was silent because he was afraid of the Hánnuš. The latter continued: "So my own son is frightened of me?" The little boy wondered about this and ran back to the hut. The words of the Hannuš had offended him, so he asked his mother: "It can't be that I have two fathers, can it?" The blind father also heard his question. Full of anger, he now explained to the little one that his mother one night slept with a Hánnuš. The mother denied it and said: "That is not true. It was only in a dream that a Hánnuš once came to my bed!" In spite of that, the little one kept on working industriously for the blind old man, but he did not love the Hánnuš who was his real father.

One day the little boy was again busy in the woods. His father, the Hánnuš, approached him, took him in his arms, and carried him to the place where his large Hánnuš family dwelt in a spacious cave. Many Hánnuš were assembled here, but they were all very strange creatures. Some of them had four eyes, others only one; a few had no heads, others had their faces on their chests; some had but one leg, others but one arm, and still others were deformed in some other way. All of them without exception now came dashing up and gaped inquisitively at the

/1293 cont./

776 stranger. After a time old Hánnuĭ accompanied his son back to
•773 place in the woods from where he had taken him. But the little boy was very ill at ease. Afterward he told the Yamana in minute detail what he had experienced with the Hánnuĭ folk. He continued to work industriously for the blind old man.

776 These two myths alone show clearly enough that the Hánnuĭ
538 spirits are not even remotely the objects of a cult or of religious veneration (257). The Yamana say that /1294/ a generation ago

257. Bridges (k):237 confirms this: "The natives never worshipped or revered cushpik, hannush, or any other being whatsoever" /translated from Spanish/.

the Hánnuĭ were seen for the last time here in their forests. Since then no one has seen a trace of them. On long winter evenings, if two or three families are living in the same hut or if a number of families are camping at the same place for some time, they love to tell stories of the Hánnuĭ and to repeat their own experiences with these creatures (p. 33). The stories are appropriate to the winter season, so to speak. In summertime the requisite mood is lacking. One evening, on my third expedition, the people spoke in great detail about everything they knew in connection with the Hánnuĭ. Blind Whaits was present. In the midst of the conversation he asked innocently: "Is winter so near at hand that you begin telling stories about the Hánnuĭ?"

The old men did not hide from me their regret that the young and middle-aged people no longer believe the stories and reports about Hánnuĭ and laugh at them as products of self-deception or imagination. They prove it by saying: "Sometimes we have worked for weeks deep in the forest (258) and never saw

258. This was work in sawmills for Europeans or on roads commissioned by the government.

the least sign of a Hánnuĭ; much less were we molested by Hánnuĭ!" This is the opinion of the modern, enlightened generation of Yamana. The old people nevertheless cling steadfastly to their

/1337 cont./

3. The Origin Myth

X 515 773

The entire conceptual world of the Kina rests on an old legend which also establishes the misogynic trend of this secret ceremony. On that first evening, after the group of men has introduced the festival with a few spirit-appearances and has taken roguish delight in the initial successes, the leader in the ensuing conversation quite freely and naturally starts talking about the origin of the Kina. As I personally learned, back there in March, 1922, there are only a few principal ideas which he offers in condensed form. This suffices for the men who have long been familiar with the material. It is as though this were a justification of the secret gathering and the hostile attitude of the men toward the women, the former justifying their strange behavior before themselves, as it were.

Once the performance has begun, the introduction of the young lads chosen as uwǰala does not take long. Thus one evening, at the very beginning of the celebration, they are told the origin myth in its entirety and in its traditional form. This is the first time that these chaps hear it, and some formality is required. The leader, of course, is not always capable or talented enough to tell the story accurately and impressively. In any case, it is his duty to see to it that it is presented to the uwǰala properly. If he himself does not feel able to do this, he asks one of the elderly participants who has perhaps done it before on a previous occasion. It is largely due to this that the wording of the myth has remained the same throughout the centuries. It was not until my fourth journey that I heard it from Masemikens exactly as I have set it down here in the following pages (281). He repeated it to me in the presence of several

281. This version has already been published by Gusinde (q):278 and (bl):337.

men in connection with the medicine-man school. It has a lasting effect on every young man who hears it for the first time. I give it here in the most literal translation possible.

Up in the northern part of Isla Grande (282) and then beyond

282. This definite statement clearly

X 515 713 /1237 cont./

designates the northern part of the native country of the Selk'nam.

on the beautiful wide pampas of Yaiyúgan (283) the women were

283. This is the name of the flat country around Bahía Thetis.

the first to perform Kina. At that time /1238/ the women had sole power; they gave orders to the men who were obedient, just as today the women obey the men. The men also sat in back at the stern, the women in front at the bow of the canoe. All the work in the hut was performed by the men, with the women giving orders. They took care of the children, tended the fire, and cleaned the skins. That is the way it was always to be. For this reason the women invented this Great Hut and everything that goes on in it. They said to the men: "We seek Táuswa! We are trying to see whether she will let herself be found, whether she will come out of the earth and enter the Great Hut!" The men regarded this as the truth. They had to follow whenever the women broke up camp somewhere.

But they did not find Táuswa in that region. So they traveled to another place, first along the north shore of Isla Grande up to the northeast tip. Wherever they stopped they built the Kina hut and performed once more. From there they wandered along the eastern shore of Isla Grande to the south. Wherever they performed, they made a wide, flat pampas. Everywhere they looked for the mighty, evil Táuswa. They continued southward until they came to the vicinity of Cabo San Pablo. From here on they no longer traveled along the coast; that is the reason why even today one sees only woodland and mountainous country south of this cape. Then the women set out in a southwesterly direction, crossed the mountains, and reached Beagle Channel on the southern coast of this Isla Grande, in the region of Puerto Harberton. From here they traveled westward. Wherever they erected their Kina Hut and performed Kina, as at Puerto Brown, the surface of the ground changed and the country became level and open. They went along the [northern] coast

X /1338 cont./
575 of Beagle Channel, always westward, until they finally came to
773 Tʸjoalíge (284). Here they performed their Kina for a very long

284. Today commonly called "Boca del Infierno," undoubtedly under the influence of that myth. This place is on the peninsula jutting out toward the south in Ushuaia Bay.

time. They stepped out of the Great Hut, only one woman or several, painted all over, with a hílis [mask] on their heads. Each time, a yéhamuf would call to the men: "That is Túnu-yéha!"; or again "That is Waafnim-yéha!" And many other spirits came out. The men believed this. But actually the women had painted themselves, and since they covered their faces with the masks, none of the men recognized them.

Despite their performances and their wailing, which continued for a long time, they could not find Tʸónowa and bring her out of the earth. So they decided not to travel farther, but to remain here in Tʸjoalíge. This place has a lovely pampas plain; they liked it very much and said: "We want to stay here! We shall now fool the men and call to them: "We found Tʸónowa; she just now came out of the earth and is with us in the Great Hut!" Immediately they rolled up a few dried skins, beat the earth with them so that it shook, and yelled, roared, and howled as though they were terribly frightened. The men heard this, /1339/ hastened into their huts, and hid, full of fear. They only whispered to each other quite softly: "Sure enough, our wives have now discovered Tʸónowa! Before this they never yelled so loudly and persistently when the spirits appeared." When this terrible howling commenced and the earth shook, the men said to themselves, fully convinced: "That is surely Tʸónowa coming out of the earth. So the women found her after all!" The women then continued their performances in Tʸjoalíge. The men were held in fear and submission and continued to do all the work as the women ordered.

Lílu, the sun-man, was an excellent hunter. Again and again he was sent to hunt. He brought home abundant game. The many women in the Kina hut needed a great deal of meat. One day he had again killed a large guanaco while hunting (285)

285. It should be pointed out that in the

/1939 cont./

central part of the Yamana territory our Fuegians almost never hunt guanacos which are seen there very rarely (p.246).

and hoisted it on his back. As he was approaching the camp he passed a lagoon and heard the voices of two girls. Lĕm grew curious and said to himself: "I wonder what those two are going here." He crept up softly, hidden by bushes. Then he saw that the girls were washing off painting that was characteristic of the "spirits" when they appeared. At the same time they were practicing imitations of the voice and manner of his two daughters [the daughters of Lĕm] (286), for she played a prominent role in

286. At this point in the story old Whaits mentioned only "one daughter of the sun-man."

the Kina house. The girls said: "We want to practice hard so that we can perfectly imitate the daughter of Lĕm. Then we shall help her sing and help her fool the men." They went on rehearsing and talking about the doings of the women in the Kina hut.

Suddenly Lĕm leaped out of his hiding-place. He placed himself so close to the girls that they could not escape. He reviled them and was extremely serious: "What are you doing here?" Frightened, they were silent. Then he commanded them: "You must tell me everything you are doing here, what you have talked about and what goes on in the Kina hut! I know quite a bit, because I have been eavesdropping." Then the girls blushed with shame and a cold sweat broke out on their foreheads. Finally they told Lĕm everything and confessed: "It is the women themselves who paint themselves and put on masks; then they step out of the hut and show themselves to the men. There are no other spirits there. It is the women themselves who yell and howl; in this way they frighten the men. But T'ĕnuwa does not do such things." The girls told him many other things. Then Lĕm said: "Out of gratitude I shall give you a bit of advice. Stay here at the lagoon and do not go back to the camp or to the

X 575 773

/1339 cont./
Kina hut; something bad is now going to happen!" So the girls stayed behind; later they turned into small fresh-water ducks /1340/ (287).

287. Back in January, 1920, old Whaim told me this part of the myth in somewhat different form. The sun-man was an excellent hunter. Although he always brought abundant game back from the hunt, there was soon a shortage of meat again. So he had to go hunting constantly. You see, the meat was stolen by the women. One day when he turned toward the camp, laden with a heavy guanaco, he passed a lagoon in which two girls were bathing. Undetected he crept up and listened to their conversation. Then he heard them say: "Lêm always brings much meat back from the hunt. Today he is out again and will surely not come home empty-handed. But the crafty women steal all his meat and take it to the Kina hut where they all consume it. Lêm knows nothing about this." Now when the sun-man suddenly stepped out of his hiding-place, the girls saw him. Frightened, they ducked down under water. But he called to them: "I've already seen you and recognized you, so come here!" Frightened, they approached. Lêm said to them: "What are you saying? I overheard you!" They stammered: "We only said: Lêm always brings home a lot of meat, here it is stolen and that is why he must hunt every day." Then Lêm demanded: "Since you know who steals my meat you must tell me who these [persons] are!" The girls, with fear and trembling, told him: "All the women gathered in the Kina hut steal the meat that you bring and consume it. That is why they stay in the Kina hut such a long time, whey they go on performing and frightening the men!"

X 515 /1340 cont./
773

The two girls who betrayed the secret remained behind in the lagoon on the advice of Lêm. They turned into ducks and are very timid.

Then Lêm angrily hoisted his guanaco on his shoulders once more and turned toward the camp. On the way he considered how he should avenge himself on the women. When he arrived in front of his hut, he threw down the guanaco and said angrily: "So that is why I provide plenty of game every day, so that my daughters can make fun of me and deceive all us men! They take our meat away from us as though it were for Tâmowa, but they themselves consume it in the Kina hut!" All the women who were standing near his hut listened astonished and asked themselves: "What has happened? What is Lêm talking about? Why is he so angry?"

[125] Tâlur-kipa (288) happened to be sitting nearby and was

288. A type of sparrow with yellow feathers, which is now rare in that region.

working on a harpoon point. She heard the excited words of Lêm and said to herself: "Somebody must have told him about the women! Perhaps he overheard the girls who went to the lagoon to bathe." She blushed with shame, for she suspected that the deception by the women had been revealed. Then she considered: "How could I manage to make Lêm be quiet about it and say nothing so that the other men will not discover anything. This woman was sitting in the front of a hut where many men were lying covered up, but still awake. She alone was sitting up; she after all, did not have to crawl under the covers (289). So when

289. During the Kalampasa performance the people in the camp are supposed to assemble in one dwelling if possible and here await the visit of this spirit. This performance has already been described on p. 1227.

1: Gutride--1943 E-S (1918-1954) 1977 S195 Tahgan S198

K 575 .773

/1340 cont./

Lâm entered the hut, the woman in a roundabout way tried to hush up everything and keep him from talking. She said to him: "We women have just given the men here a /1341/ terrible scare! We all came into the hut here and the men immediately crept under the covers, because they believed that we were Kalemgélé." She said this to confuse Lâm and divert him, so that he would not talk and the men would not find out anything.

She then ran back to the Kina hut and told the women: "Lâm knows everything that is going on here!" All the women were very much upset by these words. They got up, yelled very loudly, painted themselves, put on their masks, and went back to the hut where all the men were assembled. They wanted to terrify them more than ever now. This time, however, a few of the men secretly peeked out from under the skins with which they were covered. They said to themselves: "This time we shall not let ourselves be frightened, but shall look closely to see whether these are really our wives who are coming here!" They kept their hands over their eyes, but stealthily peeked between their fingers. While the women were dancing and yelling with their mouths close to the ears of the men, the men watched closely but remained motionless. When the weary women departed after the long dance, the men uncovered themselves and said to one another: "That [person] was my daughter. -- That was your wife. -- That was my wife, I recognized her. So that was not Kalemgélé, but our wives!"

Thus the fraud was exposed. Lâm told the men in detail what he had seen and heard at the lagoon. Now the men wanted to make sure by means of further information. They considered what was to be done. They immediately sent off the swiftest one among them to run after the women. He ran behind them and slipped into the Great Hut. The women were sitting around the fire, and each woman had her mask leaning against the hut wall behind her. The little man clearly recognized the face of each woman. His name was Kalalalâm; today he is a small bird (196).

196. This timid, swift bird is found in swampy places; its feathers are chocolate-brown, and it has a sweet voice. BD:152 also mentions it.

/1341 cont./
He slipped into the Great Hut and went around the circle behind the squatting women, tipping over all the masks. He escaped on the side opposite the wide entrance. The women suspected that a swift-footed man must have run through the hut, for how else could all their masks have fallen over! They gnashed their teeth and yelled loudly in shame and anger. Meanwhile little Tsistsiłne told the men: "I crept into the hut, quickly ran from one side to the other and tipped over all the masks. But I did not see Tsénoma. Only women are sitting there in the Great Hut!" The men listened to him.

Nevertheless, they thought that they should be even more certain. They wanted to know whether the women were really only deceiving them with all that they had maintained about Tsénoma. /1343/ So they sent out first one and then another of the men who could run quickly, first the smaller ones, then the bigger ones. Each of them crept in on one side, whisked through quickly, and escaped on the other side. The women were moved this and reached for their bows and arrows. They sent an arrow after every man who ran through the hut and knocked over their masks. The arrow stuck fast and became a tail. The clumsy animals [which at that time were men] in particular were easy to hit with an arrow; that is why to this day they have a tail. The women threw a harpoon after the arrow; that is why to this day it has a broad tail. They hit the fox with the Tłódna dzoh (XII)

XII.- This is Wilmer's back, Dzoh'ga wiłnaet
@. 38 /unknown/).

which was lying there with all its leaves and little twigs. It stuck fast and so the fox's tail is bushy. Every man who ran through the Great Hut was driven off in this manner by the women.

Finally when there were no more swift-footed runners among the men, they stopped. Then they armed themselves with clubs and slings, harpoons and spears, bows and arrows, and ran out against the Great Hut. The women were seized with terrible fear, but the men stormed ahead and there was a great battle. The men attacked the women furiously. Only two of them escaped unharmed, all the others were severely beaten and were changed into animals.

/1963 cont./

One can tell that all of them at that time suffered heavy blows. While this struggle was going on, Lêm poured great quantities of water on the Kina but in order to extinguish the fire, for the hut had started burning. He poured out a great deal of water. It became a huge wave. This wave surged far out to sea and took along the big marine animals, for there is no place for them [to move about] on the earth. To this day one can see this wave: these are the heavy breakers that dash against the high outlying rocks. Into this conflagration Lêm tossed a bucket, tšku, filled to the brim with water. It made a great hissing noise. This hissing also went out to sea and to this day one can hear it even through the mighty booming of the waves.

All the women were killed or transformed, a few escaped, and only the small children remained unharmed. Soon after this great struggle, Lêm, the sun-man, ascended to the firmament along with his brother Aiêlgin, the rainbow, and the latter's wife Tšmuwa, the moon-woman. From that time on the men perform in the Kina hut, they do this in the same manner as the women before them.

By way of supplement I shall now give the short version of the myth of the upheaval, which Maîemiłem told on the evening of March 8, 1932, when the secret celebration had just begun. He explained, "We men long ago took the kina away from the women. High up in the northern part of /1343/ Isla Grande, in the region of Tsaxłlan the women performed their first kina. Who can tell whether or not these were Selk'nam women? Perhaps at that time the Selk'nam were not yet as different from us Tehuelche here in this country as they quite obviously are today. On their journey down here from the north the women looked everywhere for Tšmuwa, but could not find her. In vain they tried at the various places where they erected their Great Hut. Finally they came to Tšoonłgo. They liked it here and decided to stay. Immediately they locked all the men and pretended they had finally found Tšmuwa here. All of them made a lot of noise, yelled, leaped, and danced very excitedly. The men were supposed to believe that Tšmuwa was causing all this, but she did not do it. The things that Tšmuwa really brought about are the considerable slopes of stones, gravel, and rubble which one

/1343 cont./

still seen west of Uthuaia. It was Tãnowa who lifted all this mass, shook it up, and moved it. If she herself had raged as wildly and struck out as excitedly as those women in the Kina hut, the whole region would have been demolished and destroyed. All the noise and fury were carried on by the women themselves; they made the men believe that Tãnowa was giving vent to her fury in this dreadful way.

"One day when Lãm returned from the hunt he eavesdropped on two girls beside a lagoon. While he kept himself hidden in the tall reeds, the girls chatted: 'Let's practice some more.' At the same time they kept trilling their lo lo lo... Finally they said: 'Now we can do it just as well as the women in the Kina hut!' When they were ready to end their vocal practice, Lãm rose from his hiding-place and stepped up to them. In his anger he addressed them gruffly and reproachfully: 'So it is our own women who deceive us men with their singing! The ulomins (282)

282. A particular kind of Kina spirit. Concerning this designation BD:113 says: "Certain men or beings supposed to be the sons of a certain kilapelsa, who acted parts in the ceema drama" /cited in English/. Thus here, too, there is again a reference to the Kalakpasa-appearance (p. 1228 and p. 1242), as in the other version of this myth.

also do not come down from above into the Kina hut! I shall inform all the men of this without delay!' The girls trembled with fear and dismay. But Lãm commanded them: 'Now tell me everything!' In their helplessness they revealed to him: 'Only our women are staying there in the Kina hut; they alone are the ones who put on everything. But the men are deceived and their false belief maintained.' Lãm was satisfied with this and assured the girls: 'All right, I shall save you two. Stay here at this lagoon and hide, then you will escape with your lives!' When Lãm reached the camp, he angrily tossed the guanaco on the ground and said distinctly: 'As far as the meat is concerned,

/1343 cont./

the women are fooling me and all the men!' These words startled Tálaxšipe. Filled with fear /1344/ she hastened to the Kina hut and told the women: 'Lém must have learned something [about our deception]!' The women were seized with dread and noisily prepared a spirit performance [the Kalampáso máne]. But the men looked out from under their covers and distinctly recognized their women who were painted and masked.

"Soon the great struggle began there in Téjoxšipe. The men counted the women from the Kina hut and in the process the women all turned into animals. The men threw a harpoon or a spear after each one. Thus one can still see that each animal has a call (292). The man who was trying to hit Tšiswéjaxšipe no

292. In the first version of this myth (p. 1344) the name Mašemšem said that the women had thrown various weapons after the fleeing men, and that these weapons are still recognizable today as tails.

longer had a spear handy, so he threw the next best thing after her, Winter's bark with its twigs and leaves, hence the bushy tail [of the fox]. The yéhšiff ran away without throwing off her mask and fled into the water; she is still wearing her mask (294).

294. This is the name for the squid (Loligo subulata). BD-646 probably also means this species, "a species of cuttle fish with a hard bill or beak" /cited in English/. The cephalopod referred to has a pair of wide, triangular fins on the pointed end of its elongated, cigar-shaped body. This formation is interpreted as a "mask" which it was supposed to have worn at that time.

The hešíjm behaved in exactly the same way; to this day one can recognize the mask that she had over her head at that time (295). Likewise the tšyéjaxšipe (296). The wéwaxšipe

295. This is a mushfish, about as long as a hand, with short spines all over its body.

1: Gumbo--1968 E-6 (1918-1926) 1937 1968 Talgan 1968

K
375
•773
D5

/1964 cont./

186. The formation of the name of this fantastical, Arrowcephalus annulis (p. 41 /untranslated/), is interpreted as a mask that was formerly worn by the animal.

(Larus glaucodes) was hit by many arrows, this is shown by the many dark stripes and dots on the wing covers. The small whale ellala (Pseudorca crassidens) happened to be absent when the general fighting began. Later when he returned to this spot, he noticed that there were only a few people. He said: 'Something must have happened here. How I should have liked to help in this fight!' He seized a smoldering club -- it was still smoldering from the general conflagration -- and burned himself under his armpits and on other places of his body. These are the light spots that one can still see on him.

K
375
773

"The mighty spears and harpoons that our men hurled at that time still lie near that lagoon in Tlingit. they are covered by tall grass. They attract the attention of everyone who comes there. Scattered among them are mammoth bones. these, too, our men hurled at the women at that time. In the general fray all the women who had performed the Kina were turned into animals, into land animals, birds, and marine animals. At the same time Libo left this earth. He took part in the Kina as a sort of servant to the women, for he had to provide them all with meat. Along with him his brother Aalgis and the latter's wife Ninaga, as well as many others, ascended to the canopy of heaven. There they all became /1964/ suns. Since then the men rule in the Kina but no women may approach unauthorized, much less enter the meeting."

These two versions of the old legend clearly set forth two main ideas. First, the Kina celebration was originally in the hands of the women. Second, the disclosure of the deception by the men-suns resulted in a general upheaval, as a result of which the men came into possession of this secret performance and all the persons who had taken part were transformed into animals, trees (pp. 79 / . 747), or suns. The legend explains that since then a new world order prevails and that at that time the world became populated with many kinds of animals. The story emphasizes the

/1961 cont./
transformation of the people taking part, for it was a struggle between men and women for existence or nonexistence (39').

[71]

39'. There is justification for a brief reference here to the surprisingly complete agreement between the basic ideas of the origin myth and those underlying the secret men's ceremonies of the Iatmul tribe (Vol. I, 654), Tamuans, and Kaiabwoshop. All three are juxtaposed in Gunnabo (p) 381. Cf. the summary in Schmidt (d) 498.

[72]

Another familiar idea should be repeated here. Under the leadership of the women who performed the Kina, the families immigrated from the north to Beagle Channel, which at that time was unpopulated. They were the first settlers here. The Tamuans refer to this as the basis for their legal claim to the region, and they have occupied it since then as the sole owners (p 372). The rest of the two versions given above differ in details and in minor incidents. Generally, all mature men who have personally experienced the Kina are acquainted with the basic ideas of this origin myth, and it is also familiar to a number of women, as will be further explained and shown below.

4. The Daily Program

In this day the Tamuans men feel justified in assembling in the Great Hut and celebrating the Kina, while excluding the women on a matter of principle. They definitely maintain that in former times the women, for their part, kept all the men in subjection by means of the same celebration. Hence, they say, their action is an absolutely living revelation in all that was once carried on in exactly the same way by the group of women. The men regard the contents of the origin myth in all seriousness as true and reliable; they have their misgivings upon it. While the women feel that the men have for the women in everyday life is not basically altered and the social position of every woman is a

/1951 copy./

Let it be stated with all firmness that every *albanal* is an altogether normal, mentally healthy human being. Persons who are mentally inferior and to an advanced state of senility are not taken seriously even in everyday life; how, therefore, could they attain that pre-eminence which every capable medicine man enjoys? Rather, it can be taken as a general rule that the *albanal* is talented above the average, that he is more active and more capable than the men around him. His greater ability and richer mental gifts alone place him above his neighbors; his extensive and more profound knowledge gained from experience give him standing. These natural advantages give a medicine man's activity considerable importance.

Naturally, there is a difference in their ability, depending on the talent and knowledge of the individual. The people /1951/ know and name those few *albanal* who have performed exquisite things, and they are acquainted with the majority who have not gone beyond mediocrity. In view of the disposition of the Yaruros, it is not surprising that the greater ability of one *albanal* has caused petty jealousies on the part of another group whose *albanal* is not so highly regarded. The one who feels himself challenged has direct to one of the customary feats of strength. Naturally they take place as follows. A *albanal* throws an object, for example, a *pilon*, at his adversary. In case the *albanal* who is attacked does not recognize the approaching foreign body or cannot nullify its effect, he is wounded, crushed, and dies. If from the start the attacker does not succeed in hurling the *pilon* far enough, so that it falls before reaching its goal or is caught by the medicine man who is attacked, then the attacker is regarded as the weaker one and loses the competition. All the above takes place in the mental field of vision of the medicine men, which remains inaccessible to the ordinary Yaruros. The latter have only an inkling of the competing *albanal* themselves will then and only so much as they choose to reveal.

On March 10, 1951, the Yaruros told me the following ancient tale. Once upon a time there were two brothers who were capable *albanal*. For a long time they lived together peacefully, but one day they had a serious quarrel. All the

/1998 cont./
people who were together with these brothers in Aglo-vhio [a coastal strip in Sedo Pumunby]. Likewise split into two groups, each joining the yêkamul they preferred. Each of these two groups left that place. They both selected a long channel in the west. One group settled on the south shore, the other on the north shore. The hostility between the two brothers and the opposition of the two groups continued; each of the two yêkamul regarded himself as more capable than the other and each group praised the one whom they had joined. Finally the one said (998)

998. All this took place in a vision or in a dream state, and each of the two opponents was as well informed about it as though it were happening in everyday life. That is the peculiar way in which the medicine men operate.

to the other there in that long channel: "I shall now prove to you that I am stronger and can do more than you!" Immediately they both prepared themselves [for the test of strength]. One of them left his hut [in his dream], boarded his canoe, and rowed to the middle of the channel. There he met his brother who had come from the opposite shore. Instantly he began the struggle with him and buried a pointed yêkul into his heart. Then he returned to shore and proceeded to enter his hut. The other brother had also dreamed that he left his hut, boarded his canoe, and rowed to the middle of the channel. There he met his brother who had come from the opposite shore. Instantly he began the struggle /1999/ with him and buried a pointed yêkul into his heart. Then he returned to shore and proceeded to enter his hut. The next morning both of the yêkamul woke up. Each of them felt very weak and weary, each of them said to those around him: "I shall soon die, much blood is flowing from my mouth and my nose. Last night my brother mortally wounded me!" Sure enough, the yêkamul died even before the sun reached the zenith. Immediately his people lighted a signal fire and notified the group on the opposite shore that a hiyan would soon be sung here. At exactly the same time the people on the other shore also lighted a signal fire and notified the group on the opposite shore

/1090 cont./

also lighted a signal fire and notified the group on the opposite shore that a dance would soon be sung here. From each of the two dozen a canoe carrying messengers set out without delay to bring the news to the opposite shore. The two canoes met in the middle of the channel, and the people of one told the people of the other: "Our yékenaf has just died, his brother killed him!" Soon all the people knew what had happened and that those two yékenaf were equally capable.

The power of the medicine man also reaches out beyond the boundaries of his own home. It overpowers Europeans, as was shown in the case of Bridges (p. 1804), and the neighboring Selk'nam according to Clara who told the following story in March, 1958. Once several Yamana were camping near Puerto Harberton. Not far from them a number of Selk'nam had erected their hut. When they saw the Yamana there, they stepped out and began making fun of them. The Yamana felt insulted, but did not dare attack the others. Finally a yékenaf said, "I shall soften harm upon them!" Without being observed he buried a yékenaf against the last one of those Selk'nam who were entering into the hut. The next morning when this man awoke he was blind in one eye. Later, when he started to walk a short distance, he fell over dead. That is how quickly the yékenaf of that medicine man took effect. -- All the people present confirmed the incident and were convinced that it was the plain truth.

Sufficient proof that the yékenaf themselves believe in their ability has now been cited. They are convinced that their dreams and the things they undertake in the dream state have reality, that their influence on natural forces brings about the desired result. Whenever someone requests help from a friendly yékenaf, the latter usually begins working at it without delay. If he should not attain the desired goal immediately, he will repeat his efforts a second and a third time. The whole neighborhood gratefully acknowledges each success and the fulfillment of each wish, above all the person who obtained the generous benefit. Thus it would be utterly unjust and false to call the medicine man a deceiver and swindler (XIX). After all, he has

XIX. Even (p) 155 pronounces this unfair judgment without any qualifications. He

/1933 cont./

part with full force. It is always the commencement entirely on the same pitch, without octave. It is only after some time that the voices grow weaker, and Emilia says loudly: "Now I shall send all the cassem back again!" While the latter singing goes on, all the people present get up and keep throwing their arms forward parallel to each other, their hands stretched out and upright. These movements are accompanied by loud cries of [illegible], which are supposed to push the *Ilkwanni* spirits out of the *Ilgwa* house and far away. Then they vigorously stamp the ground with both feet in order to make the *Nagfilla* spirits climb far down into the interior of the earth. Finally the song dies down. One person or another is still looking into the distance with tired eyes, as though he were following the departure of the *Ilkwanni* spirits.

With the agitated *Ilkwanni* song, which lasts about an hour, the people present have taken final leave of the spirits which appeared to the *Ilgwa* hut. Each one gathers up his things and leaves the hut without any formality. The daily monotony in the family hut now starts again for everyone. The large *Ilgwa* hut is abandoned to its fate. Soon the termites are scattered to all directions.

Not only the *Ilgwa*-*ellanna*, but the entire medicine-man system has been in the possession of the Tarawa for a long time. They do not know anything definite about its origin. There is no myth that tells about it. Old Thoren gave me the opinion of authoritative persons: "The *ellanna* arrangement is very old. A long time ago the people who were the first to migrate into our region with the *kika* also brought along the *ellanna* arrangement. They invented it, just as they invented the *kika*. Then when the general *ellanna* conveyed to *Tiyaddiga* /1933/ and the *kika* was taken away from the women by the men, the great *ellanna* of that time changed themselves into men and animals, like and [illegible]. *Ellgia* (*Pandanus* species). *Te'akaia* (*Hibiscus rhinocopi*), and many another capable *ellanna*. The few men [illegible] and women who did not perish in the *ellanna* became the teachers of all the subsequent *ellanna*. There were none of these at all times." This reference to the origin of the *ellanna* system in the north points also to its connection with the *kika*; this has been stressed in Gwenda pp.473. This explains the

/1411 cont./

Amagwalon *ghe-ghgo* which is the equivalent of *yellfel-ghgo*. The *ghgo-yikwood* is not linked up in any way with *Wenagwilgwa*. I asked point-blank: "What is the attitude of *Wenagwilgwa* when the *yikwood* gather in the *ghgo* house?" My informants replied unanimously and without hesitation: "He simply looks on and lets them do as they please!" A *ghgo-yikwood* given the appointed moment great satisfaction, especially if they win over a few young men to their calling.

c. Activities of the Medicine Men

Whenever a *yikwood* wishes to act as such, he must put himself into a state of auto-suggestion. The people say he acts "in a dream." How it may be that in his sleep an ordinary dream image excites him very much and awakens him. He continues to occupy himself, in a semi-conscious state, with the image that received. In order not to lose it, he sings his monotonous melody while holding the upper part of his body bent forward and gently rocking back and forth. Briefly, what has happened is that his own *yellfel* or another spirit has made contact with the *yikwood*. This contact continues for as long as he goes on singing, during which time there is an exchange of messages. Here often the desire for contact with his *yellfel* comes from the *yikwood* himself. In order to bring forth the *yellfel*, the *yikwood* sits down on his pallet, fights off all distraction, fixes his thoughts upon his guardian spirit, and sings his own melody uninterruptedly while gently rocking the upper part of his body (310). After a

310. Bridges (c) 332 and (h) 337 reported. They "began singing every and long magic songs. If the monotone and monotonous noise and common rocking back and forth of the body can be called such...". "Through spells, fasting, and rocking the body, they were able to induce a state of overexcitement and, when in this condition, claimed to possess extraordinary power" /translated from Spanish/.

J. Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SI46 Yahgan SI46

915 of spirits (pl. 28, c). So decked out, they sang and danced in the sight of the women and children and threatened the women with dire penalties if they did not remain submissive to the will of the men.

MYTHOLOGY

913 Full details on the cosmogony and mythology of the Yahgan have been presented by Gusinde (1937, pp. 1139–1277), with further information on certain of the more important folklore beings (1937, pp. 1273–1284). Perhaps the most important single phase of the mythology is the Yoškos cycle. The elder of the two Yoškos brothers was stupid, the younger, clever. The younger is in a general sense the culture hero. He is not a trickster. The cosmogonic myths include a flood story. There are a great many explanatory tales of the currawarri, the otter, the fox, and so forth. A number of other stories were told with the moral purpose of instructing and warning the young. Certain others concern the medicine man. The long story of the earlier matriarchate was briefly summarized supra under Kina cite with which it was associated, just as the Yoškos cycle was more or less associated with the Ukwana. The chief folklore beings believed in, but to whom no cult was given, were the dreaded cannibal beings, the Lokóna water spirits, and the Hánemah giants.

LORE AND LEARNING

911 In general, Yahgan technology, with the exception of the bark canoe and allied industry, gives little indication of inventive strivings. Thus they stand in sharp contrast with their Arctic counterparts, the Eskimo. A comparison for instance between the very simple Yahgan harpoons and the very elaborate Eskimo ones shows the sharpest contrast. In this respect Yahgan culture resembles more closely the culture of the northern Athabaskan and northern Algonquians of sub-Arctic America.

There were no weights and measures of any kind. There were no devices of communication such as knotted cords, notched sticks, or, so far as our records go, of travelers' signs, such as the inclined stick to show direction of journey. Smoke signals were made by putting branches of *Pathagonus betulifolius* on the fire and, when the dense smoke had risen about 10 feet (3 m.) high, quickly extinguishing the fire, allowing a bellowlike cloud of smoke to ascend. One such smoke signal signified sickness or an accident; two, a grave emergency; three, a death; four, the discovery of a stranded whale.

905 The day was divided into periods of about 4 hours each. The year was divided into four seasons corresponding roughly to our own, and also into eight divisions: "the time when the bark is loose," "when the first bird eggs were found," and so forth.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

765 [535] black paint and indulged in formal ululation. They summoned their friends and relatives to the death-dance known as *yamalashemoina*, which might be repeated at intervals for several months. For it the men and women donned the white kelp-goose headband; the men supplied themselves with clubs of unusual length (fig. 95),

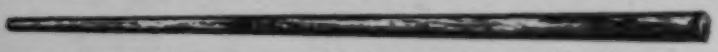

FIG. 95.—Yahgan ceremonial club. Length, 5 ft. (14/2261)

[761] and the women carried paddles. As with many primitive tribes, the Yahgan believed death due to some positive and active force, visible or invisible. Hence the mourning ceremony carried the threat of revenge and assumed the character of a sham battle.

775 It has been both asserted and denied that the Yahgan believed in the immortality of the soul. Testimony on this point secured in recent years from mission-reared Indians might not be considered conclusive, but mythological tales clearly indicate belief in survival. As among the Ona, only unusually powerful and bold spirits, such as those of shamans, were able to maintain contact with the visible world.

MYTHOLOGY

773 The Yahgan possessed the usual collection of myths found among primitive peoples, but these are exceedingly simple in character and lacking in humor or sublety. The most extensive study of the mythology of this tribe was conducted by Gusinde and Koppers, and has been published only in outline. Barclay, Thomas Bridges, Cojazzi, and Martial also have contributed mythological material of importance, while a few scattered tales occur in the works of other writers. It has seemed worth while to summarize these published sources because they often are difficult to obtain and have appeared in five different languages. We have followed the classification of Koppers (1924).

EXPLANATORY MYTHS

There are a large number of tales which explain the various phenomena of nature such as the slow approach of dawn, the shape of the rainbow, the spots on the moon, the bare tops of the mountains, etc. Such tales often form incidents in the more complex myth cycles we shall discuss.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

ETHICAL MYTHS

In this class are various stories dealing with adultery and incest. The wrongdoer is invariably punished and usually dies in disgrace. These stories are told the young during the initiation ceremonies as part of their education.

GHOST STORIES

Ghosts (*kushpig*), especially of dead shamans, were greatly feared among the Yahgan, as they were thought at times to intervene maliciously in human affairs. Hence tales exist of close escapes or death at their hands. We should also mention tales of men who had gone mad from some cause. Living in savage solitude, they sometimes terrified the Yahgan by appearing before them or attacking with desperate fury.

"ONCE-UPON-A-TIME" STORIES

There are many stories of varied character dealing with the escapades of unnamed individuals. Quite often these tales merge in classification with transformation myths. As an example we quote the following story recorded by Cojazzi (1914, p. 32):

"A young girl was playing on the beach, following the retreating waves. A seal saw her and swam in on a big wave which caught and spilled her. He swam off with her on his back to an island where they lived two years. The seal learned Yahgan. They had a son like a man in shape but covered with seal-hide. One day the woman said she would like to visit her family, and the seal agreed; so he loaded the mother and son on his back and swam to the beach, where he waited while the girl visited her parents, who failed to recognize her. But finally they received her with joy and commenced to prepare a feast. And the men, seeing a seal on the beach, ran down and killed it, and they cooked it for the feast and gave it to the mother and son to eat. Then the son said to his mother, 'Isn't seal meat good?' The mother had a horrid presentiment and ran to the beach where she had left her husband and encountered the traces of blood. Furiously she beat her child over the head, and he fell in the sea and became the fish called *acinno*."

GIANT STORIES

To the Yahgan the giants (*kanush*) were large and fearsome creatures with hairy skin, flowing locks, and ferocious natures.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

773 Their appearance could not be foretold, with the exception of a few who in ancient times set up as highwaymen on traveled thoroughfares. In general, however, they confined their attention to solitary travelers or to women and children who strayed from the encampment. Martial (p. 213) and Dabbene (p. 66) record the story of a giant shaped like a huge sea-lion, who lived in a cave on Gable island and killed and ate the crews of passing canoes. A young man named Oumoara, small in stature but dextrous with his weapons and courageous in conflict, decided to kill this giant. So he said good bye to his wives and set off alone in a canoe. As he drew near shore he put out the giant's eyes with two successive sling shots; then he poured all his arrows into the giant's body and finished him off with the harpoon.

Once, as the result of the amours of a woman and a block of stone, there was born a giant, who, like Achilles, was vulnerable only in the heel. He lived on the coast of Hoste island where he killed the men and carried off the women. One day he hurt himself in the heel by accident. Oumoara heard of this, and, knowing his weakness, decided to attack him. Thus the giant was slain.

CULTURE-BEARER MYTHS

Koppers (1924) outlines a complex story dealing with two brothers called Yoŭ'lox and their sister Ypă'loxtŏnikipa. According to Yahgan tradition these three were culture-bearers who introduced the use of fire, the art of killing birds, hunting sea-lion, getting fish-oil, making spears with barbs. They were said to have come from the east by land. Taken in conjunction with the Ona legend of bearded white men, I think it is clear that in Tierra del Fuego we have an outlying trace of the Quetzalcoatl-Viracocha myth complex, most highly developed in Mexico, Colombia, and Peru. In the art of more developed cultures than the Fuegian, this hero is associated with the plumed serpent or dragon complex which is the most basic and wide-spread of compound symbolic patterns found among the American Indians, for it can be traced from southern Canada to northern Argentina.

The Yahgan version is that the older Yoŭ'lox was stupid and lazy, and he wished that the fire would never go out, that the spear would return of itself to the hand after the cast, that seawater should be fish-oil, that man should not die. The younger brother, active and intelligent, said that the unguarded fire should

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S116 Yahgan S116

go out, that the carefully cast spear hits the mark and need not return to the hand, that fish-oil tastes better if one works for it, that it is better to die as one lives again elsewhere. In this the sister, the cleverest of the three, sided with the younger brother.

On arrival in the Yahgan country, the various arts and industries were introduced. There followed a general giving of names, the beginning of sexual intercourse, rules governing menstruation, etc. The two brothers and their sister are now stars in the sky.

DEBACLE MYTHS

In this myth cycle belong the story of the origin of the initiation ceremonies, and a flood myth. According to Koppers, it is told as follows:

Long ago the women ruled the men, who then performed all the duties today allotted to the women. The weaker sex had gained their power by the *hóus* ceremony. Painted fantastically and disguised by masks, they terrified into subjection their men folk, who believed they were looking at supernatural spirits controlled by their wives. At that time Hanuxa, the moon, was the leader of the women and chief oppressor of the men.

Lôas, the sun, was the oldest hunter and bravest of the men. One day, as he was returning from a successful hunt, he hid behind some bushes and listened to the talk of two girls who were bathing, and from them he learned the whole *hóus* secret: there were no ghosts or spirits, only the women themselves. Then a great rage seized Lôas, and with other men whom he quickly aroused he rushed into the *hóus* hut and killed all the grown women, so that only young and ignorant girls remained living. Since that day the *hóus* ceremony has been celebrated by and for the benefit of the men, who thus keep the women in subjection. According to Martial (p. 213), this event transpired near Ushuaia at a time when the Ona were encamped there, so that the two tribes uprooted their social systems together.

Hanuxa, the leader of the women, escaped the general massacre, but she was badly beaten and immediately went to the sky where she became the moon, and today the result of her beating shows in the spots on her face. Discomfited and angry at what had transpired she planned revenge, and so she sent a great flood which covered all the earth except a few mountain-peaks where some people managed to survive.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S316 Yahgan S316

773 Later Lém took to the heavens and became the sun; his father, Tarewa Lém, became a star (Venus?); his brother, Akainin, became the rainbow.

Several variants of the flood myth have been recorded in Yahgan-land. Koppers himself speaks of another version in which Lem-wakipa, the ibex, in rage once sent a great cold spell so that vast quantities of snow fell. Later this all melted and a destructive flood followed. Cojazzi (1914, p. 31) records that among the central and eastern Yahgan they say the moon once fell in the sea. Hence the waters rose above everything but the loftiest mountain-peaks, where a few men and women took refuge with the animals. When the moon climbed back into the sky, the survivors descended and feasted on a dead whale that they found. Another version given by Cojazzi (loc. cit.) is that at the time of the flood Gable island became loose at the bottom and floated like a great ship, on which many were saved. According to Rev. Thomas Bridges (1884, p. 18) it was not the moon but the sun who fell in the sea and caused the flood.

THE ALACALUF

000 Of the Alacaluf, the second tribe of Canoe Indians found on Fuegian shores, only two members were seen by the writer. We therefore have no contribution to make on the Alacaluf. In general Alacaluf material culture was almost identical with that of the western Yahgan. They were, however, slightly better workmen than the Yahgan, so that at times their manufactures can be distinguished from those of their neighbors by the superior finish. For a useful summary of Alacaluf literature the reader is referred to Dr. Cooper's Bibliography.

ARCHEOLOGY OF SOUTHERN TIERRA DEL FUEGO

Camp-sites

172 The shores of Beagle channel are dotted with the refuse of former Yahgan camp-sites. Composed of ash, bone, stone, and shell, and partly denuded of vegetation, these middens can be recognized from afar by their peculiar pearl-gray color, which differs from the green-gray rock and the brown-gray soil. They are found in sheltered places, where there is a beach for landing, kelp off-shore for mooring canoes, and where water and firewood are readily available.